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ABSTRACT

This study surveyed experiences and characteristics of hard core unemployed black men entering a vestibule training program conducted by a large manufacturing firm; and a comparison group of "direct hires." Vestibule trainees were guaranteed an entry level job after completing several weeks of training. Turnover among direct hires was attributed largely to monotonous, physically exhausting, or dangerous working conditions reported; but several personal characteristics (being young and unmarried, poor job history, not having to pay most of one's household bills and darker skin) were also relevant. Training program turnover was related to trainee attitudes toward the scheduling of training sessions; it was highest among darker skinned trainees with militant racial attitudes. Although training may have changed attitudes (especially toward time, work, and personal sense of achievement), it had no discernible effect on job skill development or subsequent turnover. Emphasis was urged on improving working conditions on industrial entry level jobs rather than training men to adapt to unpleasant, high turnover jobs. (The document includes questionnaires, 54 tables and figures, and items used in statistical comparisons.) (LY)

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TURNOVER AND TRAINING:

A SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF DISADVANTAGED WORKERS

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September, 1970

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ABSTRACT

The experiences and personal characteristics of two groups of disadvantaged workers were studied. The "trainees" were a group of "hard core unemployed" black men entering a vestibule training program conducted by a large manufacturing company. After completing several weeks of training, these trainees were guaranteed employment on an entry-level job in the company. The second group was a matched sample of "direct hires" who began working on entry-level jobs in the same company without receiving vestibule training.

The study asked four general questions concerning turnover among these groups of men and the effects of the training program upon them.

1. What factors were associated with turnover from the job among newly hired disadvantaged workers? Turnover among the direct hires was for the most part attributable to the poor quality of the working conditions they reported experiencing. Although few characteristics of the personalities of the direct hires were associated with turnover, several demographic and background characteristics were associated with high rates of termination: being young; having a poor job history; being unmarried; not having to pay most of one's household bills; and having a darker complexion.

2. What factors were associated with turnover from the training program among disadvantaged workers? The only characteristic of the training program that was related to turnover from the training program was the scheduling of the training sessions. Among the study's measures of trainees' values and attitudes, only their attitudes toward adjusting their lives to time schedules were associated with turnover. Turnover was particularly high among the young black trainees whose complexions

were darker and whose racial attitudes were more militant.

3. What changes did the training program effect in trainees? Training had no discernable effect on trainees' familiarity with the jobs on which they were placed after completion of training. The training program was possibly more successful in modifying some of the trainees' attitudes, particularly their attitudes toward time, the importance which they attached to work for work's sake, and their sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement. Generally the effects of the training program upon trainees appeared to be slight.

4. Did workers who had completed the training program have significantly greater success in keeping a company job than comparable men who did not get into the training program but instead went directly onto the job? Comparisons between the termination rates of the direct hires and the men who had gone through the training program indicated that the training program had no effect upon subsequent turnover from the job.

The general conclusion was that the company's vestibule training program was irrelevant to the social problem of providing steady jobs for the disadvantaged. Any possible effects of training appeared to be undone by the poor quality of the jobs which the trainees secured after completing training. It was recommended that efforts be directed toward improving the quality of working conditions on entry-level jobs in industry rather than training men to adapt to these unpleasant, high-turnover jobs.

1. INTRODUCTION

An increasing number of industrial concerns are undertaking programs to hire and train disadvantaged workers. Many such programs have received wide and glowing publicity in the mass media and enthusiastic testimonials from their sponsors. These testimonials are, however, characteristically based upon rather frail evidence. The amount of available research concerning the effects of these programs is tiny in comparison to the amounts of time and money that have been invested in the development and execution of such programs. Even the bulk of the research that <u>is</u> available is largely that of a "head-counting" variety, tabulating the number of workers who enter such programs, the number who complete such programs, and the number who subsequently secure jobs at various pay levels. While companies undertaking training programs for the disadvantaged are seldom at a loss to mention the hundreds or thousands of disadvantaged people they have hired and trained, they generally fail to report how many such new employees remain on company payrolls for significant lengths of time. Hiring statistics are widely publicized; meaningful turnover statistics are not. For lack of even modest social-psychological data concerning the effects of training programs upon those who participate in them, unchallenged publicity has begun to make training programs sound like panaceas for solving the economic plight of the disadvantaged. Only in recent months, in a

series of congressional hearings, have such programs begun to be scrutinized more carefully.

This document reports the findings from a study of one large manufacturing company's efforts to provide jobs for the disadvantaged. The company was simultaneously employing two quite different strategies for providing these jobs, and in doing so it presented an opportunity to observe a fairly well controlled "natural experiment" in which the relative effectiveness of the two strategies could be compared. It further presented an opportunity to investigate some of the conditions underlying a problem which has troubled many companies' efforts to employ and train the disadvantaged--the problem of turnover.

The company's first strategy for providing jobs for the disadvantaged entailed no more than the practice of priority hiring of disadvantaged workers. Workers under this recruitment program were, once they had passed the company's physical examination, assigned directly to doing productive labor at one of the company's plants. No initial training was provided other than a one to three day orientation which some of the company's plants provided all new employees. Once assigned to the job, the worker was accorded neither special treatment nor supportive services. This strategy was therefore strictly a <u>hiring</u> program for the disadvantaged, since these disadvantaged "direct hires" were treated like all other entry-level employees.

The second and far more ambitious program employed by the company provided an opportunity for each newly hired disadvantaged worker to undergo several weeks of vestibule training prior to beginning work on an entry level job in the company. The trainee was "hired" by the company

only in the sense that he was paid an hourly stipend during training. A typical trainee remained in the program for several weeks until he was either terminated from the program (and thereby terminated from the company) or was judged by the training staff to be "job ready." If the trainee was judged to be job ready, and a job opening in a company plant was available, he was graduated from the training program and assigned to a job in the company. At the beginning of his training, each trainee was told by the company that regular employment would be guaranteed him contingent upon his successful completion of training.

The present study focuses both upon disadvantaged workers who began working in the company as "direct hires" and upon the disadvantaged who joined the company's vestibule training program. The study was designed to answer four general questions:

1. What circumstances and personal characteristics were associated with turnover from the job among the direct hires?

2. What circumstances and personal characteristics were associated with turnover from the training program among the trainees?

3. What effects did the training program have upon trainees' skills, beliefs, and attitudes?

4. Did the training program increase trainees' chances of staying in the company and remaining on a company job?

2. THE OVERALL RESEARCH DESIGN

The Research Site

The research was conducted in a large company engaged in manufacturing both heavy and light machinery. Although the company maintains manufacturing facilities throughout the country, interviews and observations in the present study were obtained only from several of the company's heavy-manufacturing plants located in one northern metropolitan area.

The company's training program for disadvantaged workers was supported financially by the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor through M-1, M-2, and M-3 contracts. The company was reimbursed by the government for each training program graduate who was placed on a company job and who remained on the job for a specified number of days. The program represented a joint business and governmental effort to provide jobs for the disadvantaged that was carried out within the more general framework of the National Alliance of Businessmen's efforts to help the "hard core unemployed."

The impetus for the present study came from the combined interests of the Manpower Administration and the Survey Research Center. Although done in the company, the study was not initiated by the company. The company's participation in the study was entirely voluntary, although this participation was under the potentially coercive circumstance that the government department supporting the study was the same

department that was providing the company with the funds for underwriting its training program. Enthusiasm for the training program among those managerial and training program staff who talked with the investigators in the course of the study was very high. The degree of co-operation of these people with the Survey Research Center was also generally quite high, and--except in some instances where daily company operations superseded the needs of the study--access was provided by the company to all the available information requested by the Survey Research Center.

The Samples

General Characteristics

The population studied were black males who, as either direct hires or trainees, entered the company within an arbitrarily defined time period. All the men entering the training program were certified as being "hard core unemployed" by representatives of the State Employment Service. Direct hires were certified as "hard core unemployed" either by the State Employment Service or by duly-authorized company representatives. Those people who made such "official" certifications indicated that the following criteria entered into this determination of a man's "hard core unemployed" status:

1. being a member of a minority group;
2. being quite young or quite old;
3. being "poorly" educated, generally defined as not having completed high school;
4. having had a bad, spotty, or nonexistent employment history;
5. having recently migrated from the South.

Although these criteria are fairly explicit, how much weight was assigned to each criterion by various officials to particular individuals was quite vague. The company and State Employment Service representatives indicated to the investigators only two "rules of thumb" which they followed. A man would, according to them, be categorized as "hard core unemployed" if either (a) he met "several" of the criteria above or (b) he was a minority group member (especially if he was black) and met one of the other criteria. In some cases being a young black man was sufficient for a man to be certified as "hard core unemployed."

In terms of the five criteria listed above that could result in a man's being certified as "hard core unemployed," the following were characteristics of the men interviewed in the present study.

1. All were black.
2. They were generally young with a mean age of 23.4 years (SD = 7.0 years). Only twelve percent were over 30 years of age.
3. Their mean educational level was 10.4 years (SD = 1.7 years). Twenty-eight percent were high school graduates.
4. The mean number of jobs they had held in the last two years was 2.2 jobs (SD = 1.1 jobs).
5. Seventy-five percent were born in the northern state where the company was located. Only 18 percent had migrated from the South.

The Seven Samples

Although supplemented at many points by observational and other types of information, most of the data reported below were obtained from 347 personal interviews with men selected from the population just described. These men were divided into seven samples defined by: (1) whether the man was a direct hire or a trainee; (2) whether he had or had not terminated from the company at the time of his interview; and (3) the time during his company career at which he was interviewed. The samples were selected by the Survey Research Center, not the company. The manner in which these samples were selected, the criteria on which the samples were matched, and the overlap of some of the samples made the study's design quite complicated in execution. To describe these complexities at this point in the report appears premature, since most of the complexities are not relevant to the following two sections of the report--which comprise about two-thirds of the data to be presented.

For these reasons, each of the seven samples and relevant methodology will be described in detail only at the beginning of each section that employs data from a particular sample. Each section of the report will be treated as a "study within a study" oriented towards one of the four general research questions asked earlier. For the present, it should be sufficient to know how many men were in each sample, how each sample was generally defined, and the time at which the interviews were collected. This information is presented in Table 1.

The Interviewing Situation

All nine young men interviewing the direct hires and trainees were part-time employees who were advanced undergraduate students at

TABLE 1

THE SEVEN SAMPLES

Sample	Sample size	Description	Weeks during which sample was interviewed[a]
Direct hire inductees	24	Direct hires interviewed just after they had been accepted by the company for employment but just before they had been assigned to a job	10-18
Direct hire terminees	27	Direct hires interviewed shortly after having terminated from the company	13-21
Direct hire stays	39	Direct hires who had been in the company as long as direct hire terminees but who at the time of their interview had not terminated from the company	13-19
Trainee inductees	90	Trainees interviewed just after they had been accepted into the training program but just before they had begun training	2-5
Trainee terminees	55	Trainees interviewed shortly after having terminated from the training program	1-13
Trainee stays	90	Trainees who had been in the training program as long as trainee terminees but who at the time of their interview had not terminated from the training program	1-14
Placed trainees	22	Trainees who had completed the training program and who at the time of their interview were working on company jobs	10-19

[a]Weeks are presented in number of elapsed weeks, beginning with the week the first interview in the study was obtained.

northern colleges. Several had prior experience working in plants similar to those in the company. One other man was also employed in the data collection in a rather unusual, but highly valuable capacity. He was an older man of imposing mien who had had several years of interviewing experience and who lived and worked in the inner-city where many of the men interviewed lived. He was employed exclusively to set up interviews with terminees whom the interviewers otherwise found difficult to locate.

The response rate for terminees was quite high compared to other in-the-home interview studies of the disadvantaged which require the location of specific people. According to Table 2, 72 percent of the terminees who were sought for interviews were located and consented to be interviewed. The largest percentage of nonresponses was due to a terminee's not being located. Five percent of the terminees were located but had moved so far from the geographical area in which interviewing was economically feasible that they were classified among the nonresponses. Less than 5 percent of the terminees refused to be interviewed once they had been contacted by the interviewer.

One condition favoring such a comparatively high response rate may have been the payment to each terminee of five dollars in cash at the completion of his interview. Although five dollars was not a large amount, it was quite good payment for only an hour or so of the man's time. This payment also provided the interviewers with a ready answer to a terminee's question of "what's in it for me?"

All the interviews in the study were face-to-face interviews and contained no questionnaires to be filled out or any other materials that

TABLE 2

OUTCOMES OF ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN INTERVIEWS WITH TERMINEES

Outcome	Percentage of interviews (N = 114)
Terminee was successfully located and interview was completed	72%
Terminee was located but was presently living outside the geographical radius within which interviewing was conducted; an interview was therefore not secured	5
Terminee's last known address was nonexistent or vacant	6
Terminee had moved or was "missing," leaving no forwarding address	12
Interview was not completed because of worker's refusal; other reasons	5

the respondent would have to read. Since some respondents would have had difficulty reading and writing, none was asked to do so.

All workers interviewed were, of course, assured the protection of complete confidentiality. Considerable effort was also exerted by the interviewers to make clear to the worker that (a) the interviewer worked for the Survey Research Center and not the company, and (b) it was a Survey Research Center and not a company study.

Content of the Interviews

Each of the seven samples was given an interview which was tailored to the unique circumstance of the particular sample. Two interviews which, when taken together, contained all the questions employed

in the full set of seven interviews are presented in Appendix B. Appendix A further indicates which of the interview questions were combined into multi-item indices.

The seven interviews differed somewhat in their time perspectives. For example, whereas direct hire stays were asked about their present jobs, direct hire terminees were asked about the company jobs they had just left. The referents of certain questions also varied from sample to sample. For example, whereas direct hires were asked about their foremen, trainees were asked comparable questions about the training staff. In spite of these differences, the seven interviews for the most part followed similar lines of questioning. The first part of each interview concerned a man's reactions to either the content of the training program (if he was a trainee) or the content of his job (if he was a direct hire). Included in this series of questions concerning the "content" of the job or the training program were several questions dealing with a man's relations with others in the company who were either his peers or who supervised or trained him. The next major part of the interview concerned each man's beliefs and attitudes concerning both himself and selected aspects of his environment. Particularly emphasized in this part of the interview were a man's self-confidence and sense of personal efficacy, his attitudes toward work in general, and his beliefs and attitudes concerning racial matters. The last part of most interviews was devoted to questions concerning each man's background and certain of his current life circumstances that might affect his remaining in the company. For three samples of workers additional lines of questioning were followed. The two samples of terminees were

asked about the circumstances surrounding their termination, and the placed trainees were asked to provide hindsight evaluations of how much help the training program had been to them on their current jobs.

3. JOB TURNOVER AMONG NEWLY HIRED DISADVANTAGED WORKERS

Assumptions and Analysis Strategy

The basic assumption of this section is that turnover from a job is not an idiosyncratic or unpredictable event but is instead consistently and meaningfully related to measurable characteristics of both jobs and the workers who hold them. Countless studies have demonstrated that the likelihood of a worker's terminating from his job is related to the level of his satisfaction with that job. But simply to attribute all turnover to low job satisfaction is insufficient, since it ignores why a worker is dissatisfied and many other factors which determine his decision to leave his job, particularly his perception that he can secure a better job elsewhere. More importantly, it assumes that most job terminations are voluntary. Even the most satisfied worker is likely to terminate from his job, although involuntarily, if he fails to meet the demands of his job.

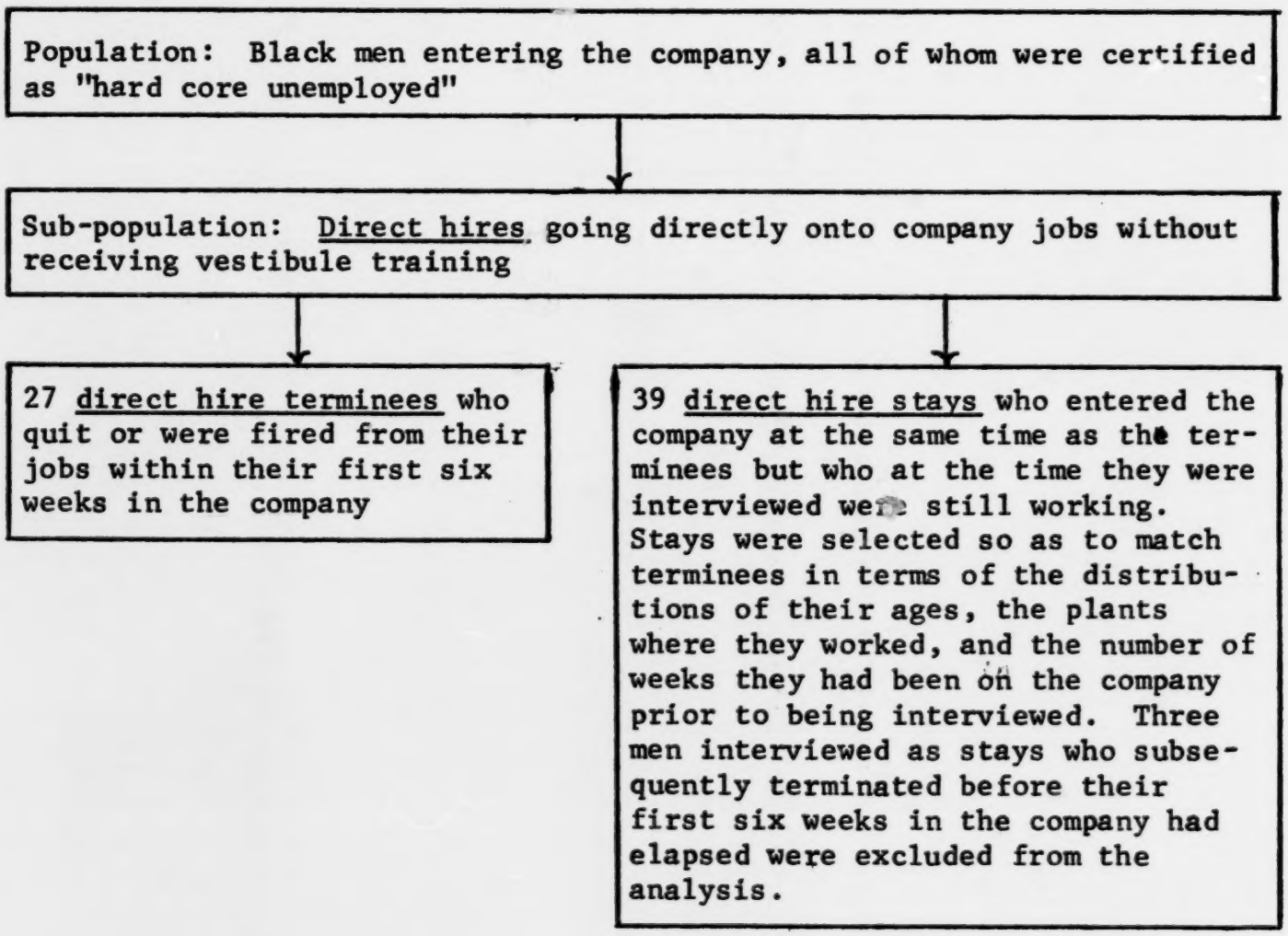
Most of the data in the pages to follow indicate which characteristics of workers' jobs or the workers themselves were associated with whether or not a newly hired disadvantaged worker terminated from his job in the company. The analysis strategy employed was that of the standard turnover study in which the behavior to be predicted is leaving the organization, either through dismissal or voluntarily. The relevant data are the different likelihoods of termination for workers with

different personal characteristics or different experiences in the organization. Those conditions which are significantly associated with different rates of termination from the organization are regarded as the reasons underlying the turnover behavior.

This analysis strategy will be applied in the following pages to data obtained from interviews with two samples of direct hires: direct hire terminees and direct hire stays.

FIGURE 1

SAMPLES USED IN DIRECT HIRE TURNOVER ANALYSIS


Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"
Sub-population: Direct hires going directly onto company jobs without receiving vestibule training
27 direct hire terminees who quit or were fired from their jobs within their first six weeks in the company
39 direct hire stays who entered the company at the same time as the terminees but who at the time they were interviewed were still working. Stays were selected so as to match terminees in terms of the distributions of their ages, the plants where they worked, and the number of weeks they had been on the company prior to being interviewed. Three men interviewed as stays who subsequently terminated before their first six weeks in the company had elapsed were excluded from the analysis.

In order to select the sample of direct hire terminees, a listing of 232 newly hired disadvantaged workers was constructed. All

workers on this listing, or "tracking sample," were drawn from the population described in the preceding section. Newly hired workers were selected from the population according to stratification criteria that were intended to yield a listing of direct hires which conformed as closely as possible to the trainee inductee sample in terms of age, education, and the plants at which the men were assigned jobs; such a matching of samples on these three criteria was possible because data on the trainee inductee sample had already been collected at the time the listing of direct hires was constructed. Within these strata, selection of direct hires to be put on the listing was random. Company staff members at each of the plants examined their plants' personnel rolls twice a week to determine whether any of the men in the "tracking sample" listing had just terminated. Once a direct hire terminee had thus been identified and the Survey Research Center had been informed of his termination, an interviewer contacted the terminee in his home for an interview. All 27 direct hire terminees had terminated within six weeks after joining the company and were interviewed within two weeks after their termination.

The direct hire stays were all selected from the same "tracking sample" listing as the direct hire terminees. The difference between the terminees and stays was that at the time of their interview the stays were still working on their company jobs. The sample of 39 direct hire stays[1] was selected to match that of the direct hire terminees in terms of the distributions of the men's ages, the plants where they

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[1]Shortly after being interviewed, three men who had been interviewed as direct hire stays terminated from the company. In all tables below which employ termination rate as a dependent variable these three "false stays" have been excluded.

worked, and the number of weeks they had been on the job prior to being interviewed. All direct hire stays were interviewed on the company's premises.

The Work Situation

The direct hires' experiences in the company, which constitute the basis of most of the data to be presented in this section, can best be understood when the reader has some appreciation of the general quality of working conditions existing in the company's plants. Simply knowing that the direct hires were doing assembly line work in heavy industry is not sufficient, since it invites the application of preconceived notions about such jobs which may not necessarily be applicable to the plants studied. For this reason, the next few pages provide a purely descriptive background for the data to be presented later. This descriptive material has been drawn from personal observations by the investigators and interviewers at the company's plants.

Physical working conditions in the plants were no worse than those of the industry as a whole--dirty, overcrowded, noisy, and (if one failed to take adequate safety precautions) dangerous. Workers unaccustomed to factory life in heavy industry might have found this situation strange and even frightening. There were conveyor lines rumbling on all sides and above, open pits in the floors, and aisles where the worker had constantly to be on guard against the unexpected movement of miscellaneous types of vehicles. The dreary but generally adequate level of lighting was heightened at frequent intervals by efflorescences of hot sparks. The barren set-ups of tables and food-vending machines which

provided lounging and eating facilities were somewhat better than the work stations. But even these oases could vanish overnight when the company found itself short of storage space and had to convert a canteen area into a storage area. In certain areas of the plants, talking with one's co-workers while working was almost impossible due to the noise level.

Working conditions in general were definitely above the level of being intolerable or lethal, but they were hardly pleasant. For example, although the noise level was below that which would often have caused hearing impairment, a worker frequently either had to shout to be heard or else remain silent. As unpleasant as they were, the working conditions were bearable providing the worker learned to sacrifice a few things, such as privacy, and to adjust his behavior to the existing conditions. Many workers in the company made this adjustment successfully. But to the worker who was unfamiliar with the more unattractive aspects of working conditions in heavy industry, the prospect of having to work under such conditions for an unknown period of time might easily raise the very appropriate question, "What do I get out of putting up with this?"

The answer to this question, and the major inducement the company had to offer its newly hired disadvantaged workers was quite simple --good pay. The typical direct hire in the study sample was being compensated quite well for his work; he was averaging considerably over three dollars an hour in gross pay, a respectably high wage for an entry-level job in any company or industry. He was not, however, working as a union member, since all men in the study were interviewed within their

first 89 days in the company. After 89 days each worker would automatically become a member of the powerful union which would represent him to the company and extend to him all the benefits that accompanied union membership. Once he became a union member he would be able to accumulate seniority, thus gaining what the disadvantaged worker rarely enjoys --some degree of job security and someone to handle his grievances with his employer.

Since the workers in the study were not union members, they were often the "first to be fired and last to be rehired" in times of production cut-backs. Low seniority in the face of lay-offs and cut-backs would in many industries be of comparatively little consequence. The company in the present study, however, was part of an industry that was sensitive to even small changes in market demands and extremely sensitive to downturns in the national economy. At the time of the initial drafting of this report, for example, a major lay-off had just occurred. During the interviewing period of this study there was also another company-wide lay-off due to a strike in a feeder plant which caused operations in the assembly plants to be halted for several days and many employees to be laid off. Some plants routinely closed down every winter for a period of a few weeks while manufacturing equipment was being repaired and new equipment installed. The company could therefore offer a disadvantaged worker "steady employment" only with the proviso that he would be probably laid off once a year during the weeks of annual equipment repair. Moreover, given the frequent strikes, shutdowns, and lay-offs characteristic of the company during the period of interviewing in this study, a disadvantaged worker could not have known

for certain whether he would be working from one week to the next. Since the company had a high rate of turnover among workers at the entry level, in periods of slow-down the company could usually reduce the size of its work-force by not hiring new workers rather than by laying-off presently employed workers. This, however, had troublesome effects on the company's training program for the disadvantaged. The program sometimes found itself in the awkward position of being about to "graduate" trainees for whom no jobs were available at the time; as a result, some "job ready" trainees had to be kept in the program until job openings became available.

Although the workers studied held company jobs with many different titles, the "typical" worker had a job with the following characteristics.

a. The job was at the "entry-level" in the company and required unskilled labor. Adequate performance on the job nevertheless required that the worker be familiar with certain tools, equipment and operations that he was to use. Furthermore, certain operations performed by a worker could be done far more easily and with considerably less physical strain to the worker if he was familiar with the "right" way of doing them.

b. Many jobs consisted of assembly work performed on machinery carried on a conveyer line. Some of the workers in the study did spot-welding on the assembled parts rather than assembly work.

c. Almost half the workers interviewed, in their general assignment to a line assembly position, were not assigned to any one work station. Instead they were shifted from work station to work station (and in the

process, from foreman to foreman) as dictated by absentee rates at various stations and the needs of foremen at these stations. They were treated as replacement personnel who had no one job focus other than "doing assembly work."

The Termination Event

The sample of 27 direct hire terminees could in principle be further divided into terminees who left the company voluntarily and those who were involuntarily terminated--that is, those who quit and those who were fired. In practice, the division was difficult to make and, once made, was highly questionable. According to the self-reports of the terminees, 56 percent quit and the remainder were fired. But in many cases a worker's report of whether he quit or was fired differed from the company's record of his termination, the only other available source of information upon which the voluntary-involuntary distinction between types of termination could be made empirically. The biggest source of discrepancy between terminees' reports and company records resulted from the company's officially discharging a worker after a specified number of days of unexcused absence from work. A worker might therefore think he was quitting simply by not showing up for work; but according to the company's records, he would be classified as having been discharged because of unexcused absenteeism. More ambiguous and more tragic situations were occasionally encountered in the course of the study. In a few cases the interviewer visited the home of a direct hire who had been officially terminated by the company only to find that the worker was ill and <u>thought</u> he was still employed; no interview was attempted in such cases.

Despite the small sample of thirteen direct hire terminees who regarded themselves as having quit and the ambiguity of this classification, their reasons for quitting (Q317)[1] are of some interest. They cited 20 reasons for quitting, some of the men giving more than one reason:

--five said that their work was too hard, fast, or physically taxing

--three indicated a dislike for a specific task associated with their jobs

--three reported personal difficulties with their foremen

--two felt that they worked under unpleasant or dangerous physical conditions

--two felt that they did not have the skills necessary for their jobs

--three reported miscellaneous work-related reasons for quitting

--two indicated that they quit for reasons not related to their jobs.

The most interesting aspect of these figures is the low number of direct hires who reported quitting for reasons not related to their jobs. An earlier study of voluntary terminations of blue-collar workers in one of the company's plants reported that about 40 percent of the reasons given for quitting were <u>not</u> related to a company job.[2] The company's workers in the present study, however, apparently felt quite inclined to attribute their quitting the company directly to disliked characteristics of their jobs.

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[1]The parenthetical entries beginning "I" or "Q" in the text and tables refer to the index or question upon which the relevant data were based. Question numbers correspond to the parenthetical question numbers that appear in the right column of the interview schedules included in Appendix B. Indices are described in Appendix A.

[2]The study cannot be cited without jeopardizing the anonymity of the company.

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Among direct hire terminees who reported that they were fired, a majority indicated that they were fired because of absenteeism or tardiness (Q318). Almost as many indicated that they were discharged because their supervisors felt that they were not performing up to standard in one way or another.

Several tables to be presented in later pages indicate that the men who terminated reported experiencing significantly poorer working conditions than those experienced by men who did not terminate. One possible explanation of the differences reported in these tables is that terminees, <u>because of</u> (but not <u>prior to</u>) their termination, had adopted a negative attitude toward the company. If this were the case, most might be expected not to want to return to their company jobs. Table 3 indicates otherwise, since it shows that almost half (45%) of those who terminated from the company wished they were back working for the company again.

Why did these terminees who wanted to be back on the job not just return to the company and request to be rehired? Other than the fact that many had just been fired, there were few openings available. This was especially true for the group of direct hires who joined and terminated from the company at the time the study was being conducted. When the interviewing of direct hires began there was a sudden upsurge of employment to compensate for the personnel losses which had resulted from a strike-related shutdown occurring just before interviewing began. As the interviewing got underway and the company's economic health began

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[1]For a further discussion of the implications of this possibility, see the Summary at the end of Section 4.

TABLE 3

TYPE OF DIRECT HIRE[a] TERMINATION AND DIRECT HIRE TERMINEES' WISHES TO BE BACK WORKING ON COMPANY JOB

Direct hire terminees' wishes to be back working on company job (Q321)	Type of termination (Q316)		
	Direct hires who quit	Direct hires who were fired	TOTAL
Wished to be back	19%	26%	45%
Did not wish to be back	37	18	55
TOTAL	56%	44%	100% (N=27)

[a]All data in this table and in the remaining tables of this section were obtained exclusively from interviews with direct hire stays or direct hire terminees; no data obtained from direct hire inductees are presented in this section. Therefore the designation "direct hire" in any table in this section should be read as "direct hire stay and/or terminee."

Note:--Tables in this report present data in terms of percentages. In all tables the percentages exclude from their bases men who either (a) provided "missing information" on the question (e.g., could not answer the question, gave an uncodable answer, or failed to be asked the question by the interviewer), or (b) were not asked the question because of their responses to other questions (e.g., a worker who did not want any other job in the company in preference to his present one was not asked the question concerning the likelihood of his ever getting this "other" job). Where, as in the latter case, a subgroup of men has been systematically excluded from a table, the excluded subgroup will be described in a footnote to the table. The base numbers upon which percentages are based will be given parenthetically.

to ebb slightly with the receding tide of the national economy, the pool of job openings in the company at the entry level began to dry up. The direct hires joined the company when jobs were comparatively plentiful, but a direct hire terminee would have had to reapply for a job at a time when hiring was at a lower level. Furthermore, some of the direct hire

terminees did not apply to be rehired by the company because they had taken new jobs outside the company. Within the two weeks between the time of their termination and the time of their interview, a quarter of the direct hire terminees had secured new jobs, although none of their jobs paid as well as had their former company jobs.

Data to be presented in Section 6 indicate that the company had quite a high turnover rate among its newly hired disadvantaged workers. Among the sample of disadvantaged direct hires whose company careers were followed in the study, 42 percent terminated within their first six weeks of work. This turnover could, we suspect, have been reduced somewhat had the company's personnel offices been more responsive to management's desires to retain the company's newly hired disadvantaged workers. Although the company's efforts to meet its commitment to <u>hire</u> the disadvantaged were generally successful, once a man had been hired and began to have difficulty with his job, the company's "business as usual" personnel practices did not work to his advantage. Job reassignments which removed him from the job or foreman that was causing him trouble were few. Being able to request and secure a better job assignment was one of the benefits of union membership in the company. Union seniority dictated the granting of such requests. The company's newly hired workers not only lacked such seniority but were not even union members. Their requests for reassignment had therefore to be largely informal ones. The personnel staff at times tried to iron out difficulties between a man and his foreman, but the staff found little available time in which to do so. In ambiguous cases of dismissal the foreman's word usually prevailed over that of the worker, and the worker was fired. An ironic

situation was thereby created. The company's management was making a concerted effort to hire the disadvantaged; it was also to the company's best interest to retain as many qualified disadvantaged workers as possible. At the same time, 42 percent of the newly hired disadvantaged workers terminated from the company before six weeks had elapsed, and almost half of these men wished they were back working in the company (Table 3). The company's personnel offices had therefore terminated some men whom management might have wished to keep on its payroll, many of whom in turn wished they had not been terminated in the first place. The situation seems to have profited nobody.

The Content of the Worker's Job

March and Simon's[1] analysis of turnover suggests that an unsatisfying job will not necessarily lead to a worker's leaving a company *if* he feels that there is a good chance that he can be reassigned to a job which is more to his liking. But where he feels that his chances for altering his job assignment are poor, the chances he will quit his job will be high. The description provided above of the job of the "typical" direct hire suggested that his job was hardly satisfying in terms of its content, since it was generally a dirty and dangerous entry level job; data presented below indicate that it was unattractive to the worker in other ways as well. According to March and Simon's hypothesis that turnover from an unsatisfying job will be highest when the worker perceives there is little opportunity for changing his job assignment, the disadvantaged workers in the company who would be least likely to remain on their unsatisfying jobs would be expected to

[1] J. March and H. Simon, *Organizations*. (New York: Wiley, 1958).

be those who saw the least likelihood of bettering their job assignments. Table 4 shows that this is indeed the case. It compares two groups of direct hires who differed in terms of their perception of how hard it would be to get a new job assignment if they did not like their current ones. Sixty-four percent of those who reported that they would find it hard to change their job assignments had terminated, while only 24 percent of those who reported they would not find it hard had terminated. The disadvantaged worker's feeling that his job assignment was not immutable and could be changed by one means or another therefore appears to have greatly influenced his decision to remain on his present job in the hope of a subsequent job change.

TABLE 4

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' BELIEFS OF HOW HARD IT WOULD BE FOR THEM TO OBTAIN A NEW JOB ASSIGNMENT IF THEY DID NOT LIKE THEIR CURRENT COMPANY JOBS (Q399)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it would be very hard to get their job assignments changed (N=31)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it would not be very hard to get their job assignments changed (N=29)
64%	24%

$t = 3.11$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Note:--Many tables in this and the next section follow this format, showing termination rate in relation to some property of the worker or his experiences. Each table represents, in percentagized form, the top line of a 2x2 contingency table. Thus, the contingency table upon which the above table was based looked as follows:

	Very hard to change job assignment	Not very hard to change job assignment	TOTAL
Terminees	20 (64%)	7 (24%)	27 (45%)
Stays	11 (36%)	22 (76%)	33 (55%)
TOTAL	31 (100%)	29 (100%)	60 (100%)

The row totals will of course remain constant from table to table (except as modified by missing information) since they reflect only the total numbers of men interviewed who were terminees and stays.

t values are based on tests of differences between uncorrelated proportions.

Overall, about half of all direct hires felt that there was little chance that their job assignments could be changed. In order to determine why they felt this way, direct hires were first asked, "What is your best guess about how many men at (the company) speak up and ask for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to--all of them, only a few, or none of them?" Those workers indicating that not all men would do so were then asked, "Why don't all these men do it? Why don't all of them ask for different jobs?" The combined answers of direct hire stays and terminees to the latter question are presented in Table 5. The most commonly reported reason for hesitating to request a change in job assignment was fear of retaliation of one sort or another by the workers' superiors. Thirty-six percent of the workers cited fear of being fired, and another eight percent cited other forms of supervisory retaliation. About a quarter of the workers said that it was necessary to be an employee of the company 89 days before one became a union member and that only then could one officially request a change in job assignment. A quarter also felt that requests for change would simply be futile.

A worker who did not like his present job and saw little chance of successfully securing a job change did not <u>necessarily</u> terminate from his job, although Table 4 indicates that he was significantly more likely than other workers to do so. There was still an alternative course of action--actually <u>non</u>action--available to him. He could instead essentially "hang loose," tolerating the job he had for the time being in the hope that the forces of job reallocation in the company would eventually assign him to a job that was more to his liking. Playing

TABLE 5

DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF WHY THEIR CO-WORKERS WOULD NOT REQUEST A CHANGE IN JOB ASSIGNMENT IF THEY WANTED ONE (Q401)

Reason for not requesting change	Percentage of direct hires (N=47)[a]
Fear of being fired	36%
Since they lack seniority, they could not request a change in job assignment	28
Since the change would not be given, it was useless to ask for it	21
Fear of retaliation from superiors (excludes fear of being fired)	8

[a]Excludes workers who felt that all their co-workers would request a change in job assignment if they wanted one. Reasons mentioned by five percent of workers or less are not shown.

this game of job reassignment roulette could at the same time have another far less desirable outcome. Instead of ending up with a job he preferred to his present job, he could conceivably end up with a job that was worse than his present one. In order to estimate the effects upon turnover of differences among workers in terms of the chances they saw of being assigned in the future to both "better" and "worse" jobs in the company, two series of questions were employed. The first series asked workers whether there was any job in the company that they preferred to their present ones;[1] workers who could specify such a job were

[1]Workers did not use this question as a springboard for describing improbable dreams; the "preferred" jobs they cited were all quite modest in company status and were, in principle, obtainable in a few years by entry-level workers.

then asked to estimate the probability that they would be assigned to it. A similar series of questions determined the probability each worker associated with his being assigned to the job (other than his present one) that he least wanted to have in the company.[1]

The effects upon turnover of workers' perceived chances of attaining their "most preferred" and "least preferred" company jobs are shown in Tables 6 and 7. Workers' estimates of their chances of securing their "most preferred" jobs was significantly related to turnover. Although 67 per cent of those who felt it was not likely they would get their preferred jobs were terminees, only 18 percent of those who felt that it was at least somewhat likely they would get these jobs were terminees (Table 6). Consistent with this, but of smaller magnitude and not statistically significant, is the tendency indicated in Table 7 for terminees to be more heavily represented among those who felt it was at least somewhat likely they would get their least preferred jobs.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 are quite consistent in their indication that a man will leave a newly secured job that he may not like at first when he feels: (a) that it is very hard for him to secure a change in his job assignment at his own request, and (b) that the future holds both little chance of his reassignment to a better job and some chance for his reassignment to an even worse job.

The above discussion may suggest that each of the workers in the study had an identifiable job in the company. This was not always the

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[1]For terminees the referents of these questions were (a) the jobs each terminee would most/least liked to have had in the company and (b) his chances of getting such jobs had he remained.

TABLE 6

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' ESTIMATIONS OF THE PROBABILITY OF THEIR SECURING THE JOBS IN THE COMPANY THAT THEY MOST PREFERRED TO THEIR PRESENT JOBS (Q389)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was "not at all" likely that they would be assigned to their "most preferred" company jobs (N=21)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was at least "somewhat" likely that they would be assigned to their "most preferred" company jobs (N=22)
67%	18%

$\underline{t} = 3.25$; $\underline{p} < .01$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who preferred no job to the ones they had or who were unable to specify a particular "preferred" job.

TABLE 7

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' ESTIMATIONS OF THE PROBABILITY OF THEIR SECURING THE JOBS IN THE COMPANY THAT THEY LEAST PREFERRED IN COMPARISON TO THEIR PRESENT JOBS (Q393)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was "not at all" likely that they would be assigned to their "least preferred" company jobs (N=13)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was at least "somewhat" likely that they would be assigned to their "least preferred" company jobs (N=12)
31%	58%

$\underline{t} = 1.35$; n.s.

[a]Excludes workers who regarded the jobs they had as their "least preferred" company jobs or were unable to specify a particular "least preferred" job.

case. Since the men studied were entry-level blue-collar workers in the company, they were in many cases utilized as replacement personnel and were shifted from work station to work station and from supervisor to supervisor as dictated by the daily needs of foremen for workers to man their stations. Among the direct hires interviewed:

--Forty-four percent reported that they were moved from work station to work station, rather than spending most of their time at one station (Q334).

--Twenty-eight percent reported that they had no idea at all at the beginning of each day what their work routine was going to be like (Q364).

--Forty-eight percent reported that there was more than one man whom they considered to be their foreman (Q374).

For the workers who experienced vague or vacillating assignments such as these, having a job could mean little more than "working on the assembly line at an entry level," since little else was predictable. That many workers were thus exposed to frequently shifting assignments need not imply that they were necessarily dissatisfied with this situation. Fluidity of assignment can conceivably introduce variety into otherwise uninteresting work and provide a greater opportunity to acquire skills in different areas, thereby increasing a worker's chance for promotion. But systematic job rotation designed for the explicit purpose of enriching a worker is quite different from the shifting job assignments experienced by the direct hires.

Tables 8 through 11 indicate some ways in which changes in job assignments may have decreased the company's retention of its newly-hired disadvantaged personnel. Table 8 shows that a worker was significantly more likely to have left the company if he was moved from work

TABLE 8

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF BEING MOVED FROM WORK STATION TO WORK STATION (Q334)

Termination rate among direct hires who were assigned to one work station only (N=36)	Termination rate among direct hires who were moved from work station to work station (N=27)
33%	56%

$t = 1.83$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

station to work station in the course of his work than if he spent most of his time at one work station. These data imply that a worker will be more likely to terminate if he has little sense from day to day of what his job in the company might be. This implication is substantiated by Table 9 which shows that workers were significantly more likely to have terminated if they had "no idea at all" of what their work routine was going to be like each day.

TABLE 9

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' CLARITY ABOUT THEIR DAILY WORK ROUTINES (Q364)

Termination rate among direct hires who had "no idea" of what their work routine would be like each day (N=17)	Termination rate among direct hires who had at least "some idea" of what their work routine would be like each day (N=45)
64%	36%

$t = 1.98$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

A possible consequence of shifting many new workers from job to job is increasing the chance that a worker will eventually be asked to

do something he is incapable of doing and hence make himself a candidate for dismissal. Not only may such switching make it difficult for a worker to acquire skills in doing a particular job well, it also, merely by increasing the number of different things a worker is required to do, increases the probability that he will ultimately be confronted by a job demand that exceeds his capabilities. According to Table 10, frequent confrontation of workers by tasks they were incapable of performing was associated with turnover. Sixty-three percent of those who sometimes were told to do something they did not know how to do were terminees; among those never told to do such a thing, only 28 percent had terminated.

TABLE 10

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS THAT THEY WERE TOLD TO DO SOMETHING THEY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO DO (Q352)

Termination rate among direct hires who were at least "sometimes" told to do something they did not know how to do (N=27)	Termination rate among direct hires who were never told to do something they did not know how to do (N=35)
63%	28%

$t = 2.76$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

In addition to increasing the probability that a worker will perform poorly, there is still another possible undesirable result of working on ambiguous or shifting job assignments--a sense of alienation from one's work. A sense of alienation is, in theory, likely to be greatest where a worker has no conception of how his activity relates

to the completion of a final product or to the activities of those around him. That a sense of alienation from the activities of others was associated with increased turnover is suggested by Table 11. Only 18 percent of those who had a very good idea of how their work fit in with that of others were terminees. In contrast, half of those who did not have such a good idea of how their work fit in were terminees.

TABLE 11

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' SENSE OF HOW THEIR WORK "FIT IN" WITH THE WORK OTHER FACTORY WORKERS IN THE COMPANY'S PLANTS WERE DOING (Q365)

Termination rate among direct hires who had a "very good idea" of how their work fit in (N=17)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not have a "very good idea" of how their work fit in (N=45)
18%	51%

$t = 2.35$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

The question remains as to who in the company was responsible for the failure to orient newly hired disadvantaged workers to their jobs. The worker's foreman would at first seem the obvious person to remedy the situation. He could, for example, devote time to counseling the new worker in the demands of his job and the operations of the department. He could indicate to the worker the least strenuous way of doing his work rather than letting the worker find it out by himself or from other workers. He could even show the new worker around the plant. Such a "guided tour" might seem like a luxury, but data from the direct hire sample indicated that direct hires who had been shown around their plants (Q366) were significantly less likely to report being confronted

with tasks they did not know how to do (Q352) than workers who had never been taken around their plants to get an overview of plant operations. The company indeed encouraged such orientation activities by foremen; in its training manual for foremen it exhorted them to be tolerant of the confusion of the newly-hired disadvantaged worker.

> Everything may be confusingly new to the new employee. That it will be <u>new</u> is obvious; <u>confusingly new</u> may not be apparent. However, if this is his (the inner-city recruit's) first factory job, certainly there is basis for confusion. A simple thing like direction will confuse. "Where did I come in the building?" "What turns did I take to get to my work station?" "Where is the washroom, the drinking fountain?" Even well-oriented, mature industrial workers require a week or two before new surroundings lose their newness and confusion.

But staffing patterns, manpower allocations, and production quotas were unresponsive to such well-intended exhortations. Although the foremen were generally overworked and often understaffed, they were required to meet their production quotas unfailingly, and giving special attention to new employees was a time-consuming task. Even the best-intentioned of foremen would have found it hard, given the time, the number of workers, and the production quotas allotted to him, to do all the things necessary to make the jobs of newly-hired disadvantaged employees more comprehensible to them. Moreover, when confronted with absenteeism at a work station they were compelled to switch a man from another station to the vacant one or to send out a call for men to be sent in from other areas. Although the foremen need not have liked such frequent shifting of personnel, they had no choice given the existing manpower allocations in the company.

Although a sizeable number of direct hires did not have one identifiable job in the usual sense of the term, the various job

assignments given to a worker nevertheless had enough in common to permit him to make some generalizations about the type of work he did. That the content of the jobs of direct hires was significantly related to whether they would leave or stay in the company can be inferred from Table 12. Only 28 percent of those who felt the kind of work they did was pretty good had terminated from their jobs; turnover was significantly higher among those who did not feel that the kind of work they did was pretty good.

TABLE 12

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS OF THE "KIND OF WORK" THEY WERE DOING (Q339)

Termination rate among direct hires who regarded the kind of work they were doing as "pretty good" (N=28)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not regard the kind of work they were doing as "pretty good" (N=35)
28%	54%

$t = 2.07$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

The two aspects of the content of workers' jobs measured in the present study that had the greatest association with whether they had stayed or left the company were how demanding and how boring their jobs were. Data relevant to how demanding their jobs were are presented in Table 13 which shows a significant association between turnover and the worker's belief that he was required to work too fast or too hard. About two-thirds of those who felt they often had to work too hard or too fast had terminated; there were significantly fewer terminees among those who did not feel that they often had to work too hard or too fast.

An even more sizeable association with turnover occurred with regard to the extent to which workers were bored by what they did on their jobs. Sixty-three percent of those who were sometimes bored had terminated from their jobs, while only 18 percent of those who were never bored did so (Table 14).

TABLE 13

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS THAT THEY HAD TO WORK "TOO HARD OR TOO FAST" ON THEIR JOBS (Q345)

Termination rate among direct hires who "often" had to work too hard or too fast (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not "often" have to work too hard or too fast (N=40)
61%	32%

$t = 2.24$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

TABLE 14

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO HOW OFTEN DIRECT HIRES' WERE BORED BY THEIR JOBS (Q351)

Termination rate among direct hires who were at least "sometimes" bored by their jobs (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who were "never" bored by their jobs (N=28)
63%	18%

$t = 3.58$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Table 15 indicates one further aspect of the content of workers' jobs that may have had some relationship to turnover. The table shows that terminees were somewhat more heavily represented among those who during their few weeks of working for the company were on at least one

occasion hurt badly enough on the job to want to see the plant nurse or doctor. While the difference in turnover between those who had been injured and those who had not was just short of statistical significance, the comparison is less important than the sheer number of men reporting job related injuries. Overall, 35 percent of the direct hires (N=66) reported one or more work-related injury in their first six weeks in the company. By comparison, only 16.3 percent of all blue-collar workers in the U.S. report having had a work-related illness or injury in the last three years.[1] For U.S. workers in machine trades occupations, a more relevant comparison group, the incidence of work-related illness of injury over a three year period is 15.1 percent. The incidence of work-related injury experienced by the company's newly hired disadvantaged personnel was by comparison appallingly high. Whether this high rate was unique to the population studied or characteristic of all the company's entry-level employees in assembly work is not known.

TABLE 15

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF INJURIES ON THEIR COMPANY JOBS THAT HURT THEM BADLY ENOUGH TO MAKE THEM WANT TO SEE THE PLANT NURSE OR DOCTOR
(Q368)

Termination rate among direct hires who were injured (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who were not injured (N=40)
56%	35%

t = 1.62; n.s.

[1]These data were obtained from a 1969 survey of working members of the U.S. labor force conducted by The University of Michigan's Survey Research Center.

The Hours of the Worker's Job

All the direct hires in this study were on shift-work in the sense that the plants maintained a three-shift operation. They were not, however, on shift-work in the sense that they worked rotating or other types of changing shift patterns. The workers did not therefore work the fluctuating hours suggested by the term "shift-work."

A new employee could be assigned to any of the three shifts. Did such assignment have any effect upon the chances of a newly hired disadvantaged worker remaining on his job in the company? This question presumes that one shift was in some way better than another for a disadvantaged worker. That the company had an idea of what would constitute a good set of hours for the disadvantaged men it was recruiting is indicated in the following quotation from a company training manual for foremen:

> What may be taken for granted by the average person--things like getting up each morning, getting to work on time, and accepting work assignments from the boss are not so simple for the [disadvantaged worker]. He may never before have held a regular job. So he has had no experience in living by the clock. A man who is used to going to bed at three in the morning now has to get up at six in the morning.

A common assumption in this and in other statements by company personnel was that a major obstacle to the company's retaining its newly hired disadvantaged workers was their difficulty of getting to work on time for the morning shift.

The data suggested that the company's assumptions about what shift newly hired disadvantaged workers would prefer was different from the workers' actual shift preferences. Table 16 contrasts direct hires on the morning (beginning at 6 a.m.) shift with direct hires on the

TABLE 16

DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS OF THEIR HOURS
IN RELATION TO THEIR SHIFT ASSIGNMENTS
(Q337)

Percentage of direct hires on the morning shift who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=16)	Percentage of direct hires on the afternoon shift[a] who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=48)
94%	62%

$t = 2.42$; $p < .05$

[a]Since most interviewing in this study was begun in the late morning, afternoon shift workers were over-represented in the sample. Two workers from the night shift were excluded from this table and from Table 17.

afternoon (beginning at 3:30 p.m.) shift in terms of the percentage of men reporting that the shift hours they worked were "pretty good." Nearly all direct hires working the morning shift felt that their shift hours were pretty good; fewer men on the afternoon shift felt their shift was pretty good. In this regard the newly hired disadvantaged workers differed little from other workers in the company, since the first shift was generally preferred, and workers with seniority had priority in securing first shift assignments.

Which shift were those direct hires who terminated from the company more likely to have been working--the morning shift which <u>they</u> most preferred or the afternoon shift which <u>the company</u> thought might be best for them? Only a partial and inconclusive answer to this question is available from data in the present study. Table 17 indicates that significantly more workers who disliked their shift hours terminated

TABLE 17

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS OF THEIR HOURS (Q337)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=45)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt their shift hours were not "pretty good" (N=18)
33%	67%

$t = 2.46$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

from the company than did workers who said their shift hours were "pretty good." Although it might therefore be inferred that placement on the first shift better insured a worker's remaining in the company (since workers preferred the first shift), the test could not be made with data from the present study, since most of the interviewing of direct hires in the plants was conducted in the afternoon. Direct hires on the afternoon shift were therefore over-represented in the sample of stays. As a result no definitive answer could be obtained to the question of which shift assignment was most likely to produce the least turnover among the company's newly hired disadvantaged workers. Although the data in Tables 16 and 17 suggest that the shift assignment most likely to reduce turnover was the morning one, such an inference is rather indirect, and the question can be better answered by more adequate data.

Treatment of the Worker by his Organizational Superiors

Most of the working conditions shown in the above pages to be associated with turnover among the newly hired disadvantaged had in

common the possibility of being changed through modifications in company policies and procedures. Although the workers' foremen or general foremen had some control over these conditions, the foremen were for the most part only implementing decisions that had already been made and policies that had already been set at less easily identifiable points higher in the company. Many of the latter decisions and policies were in turn imposed by the company's technology. In the pages to follow the focus shifts from those working conditions which were attributable to the vague abstraction of "company policy" or "technology" to matters over which direct hires' supervisors had more immediate control.

Tables 18 and 19 show that turnover was substantially related to how well workers felt they were treated by their superiors. While a quarter of those who felt that they had been treated "pretty good" by those over them had terminated from the company, there were significantly more terminees among those who felt they had <u>not</u> been treated "pretty good" (Table 18). Table 19 deals more specifically with the <u>fairness</u> with which the worker felt he had been treated by his

TABLE 18

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF HOW WELL THEY WERE TREATED BY THOSE OVER THEM IN THE COMPANY (Q340)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt the way they were treated by those over them was "pretty good" (N=38)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt the way they were treated by those over them was not "pretty good" (N=24)
26%	58%

$t = 2.53$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

superiors. Eighty-one percent of those who felt they had not been treated completely fairly had terminated; in comparison, turnover among those who felt they had been treated completely fairly was only nine percent. Some indication of the types of unfair treatment that workers reported experiencing is provided in the interview quotations below. Several forms of unfair treatment that were described by workers were quite "miscellaneous" in character and did not affect a large number of workers. For example, one worker's superior required him to attend the showing of a company safety film on his own time, in spite of the fact that the worker had already seen the film.

TABLE 19

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF HOW FAIRLY THEY WERE TREATED ON THEIR JOBS (Q402)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt they were treated "completely fairly" (N=22)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt they were not treated "completely fairly" (N=31)
9%	81%

$t = 5.17$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

The unfair treatment by superiors reported by workers tended to be of either of two types. The first occurred when the worker for some reason did not feel adequate to or suited for his job. Under such conditions workers often reported being treated "unfairly" because their supervisors either refused to change their job assignments or failed to provide them with training to do their jobs adequately. Occasional reference was made by workers to physical limitations which impaired their performance:

> Well, the general foreman put me on (a product) assembly. The doctor said I couldn't do any lifting. But the general foreman ignored this.

Other workers reported that their superiors treated them unfairly by expecting them to do jobs for which they did not train them adequately:

> The job was too hard. And I told the foreman to show me more about the job. But he said he didn't have time because there were a hundred men.
>
> Didn't give me a chance to learn the job--only two days. I didn't have enough time to learn the job, and I didn't have a chance to get transferred.
>
> I never did get a chance to really learn one job. All during the day I was transferred from job to job.
>
> They kept switching me around from job to job so I wouldn't do well so I could make my 90 days (when the worker would be eligible for union membership). They also told me that I could go to school at the plant to learn a trade. But then I heard nothing more about it when I started working.

Still other workers simply complained about unfair treatment because of their supervisors' decisions to fire them rather than change their job assignments:

> Well, they knew I couldn't keep up with the (assembly) line. So they could of given me another job rather than just put me on the street.
>
> Foreman said I wasn't too fast on the line. I asked him for another job and he said "No." He said I wasn't keeping up with the line. I mean--at least I <u>did</u> try, so he could of at least given me another job.

The second major type of answer to the interview question concerning unfair treatment by superiors involved a worker's having been discharged for reasons he felt were unfair:

> My mother was sick, and I had to stay home with her. They asked for a doctor's excuse. But how do you get an excuse when you can't afford a doctor?
>
> The guy wouldn't let me explain to him the problems I had trying to get out (to the plant). He acted like he didn't care, which

he didn't. Hell, I tried to find a quicker way out there, and when I did it was the same day I got fired.

. . . and then he told me that if I was absent, late, or anything ever without an excuse, he'd fire me. And he said for the next 90 days it would be this way. And I had only been there a month. And at the time I was driving to work. How do you bring an excuse for a flat?

I got some glue in my eye and was in the nurse's office all day. She gave me a pass to go home, but my foreman asked me to work. I worked for practically all night, and he kept promising me a relief man, but wouldn't send one. So I walked off the line. He told me I was discharged because I walked off the line, but I had an injury I got my eye messed up.

I missed three days and didn't call in. Word was the line was moving slow and absenteeism was cracked down on to get rid of some of the guys. They didn't give me a chance to verify my absences.

The questions which elicited the above answers from workers and which provided the data in Tables 18 and 19 did not focus the worker's attention exclusively upon the single foreman who was his immediate superior. The referent of these questions was the more general group of "those over you" in the company. This group obviously included workers' immediate foremen, and in most of the instances of "unfair treatment" cited workers blamed their immediate foremen of the mistreatment; but the group could conceivably include as well general foremen and some others higher than the worker in the managerial hierarchy. For this reason a series of questions was asked intended to assess the relationship between turnover and the quality of supervision the worker felt he received only from the single person who was his <u>immediate</u> supervisor--the foreman to whom he reported directly.

Data above showed that many direct hires did not have a single job due to their being switched from work station to work station. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many direct hires said that they

reported to more than one foreman as well. Overall, 48 percent of the direct hires indicated that there was more than one person they thought of as their foreman, although "officially" each man was assigned to only one foreman. That such multiple or changing reporting relationships were associated with turnover is shown in Table 20 which indicates that significantly more terminees said they maintained multiple reporting relationships than did stays. The data therefore suggest that both giving a new worker multiple reporting relationships and assigning him to multiple work stations and jobs had a sizeable tendency to increase the chances of his terminating from his newly acquired job within a few weeks after securing it.

TABLE 20

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF FOREMEN TO WHOM THE DIRECT HIRE REPORTED (Q374)

Termination rate among direct hires who reported to only one foreman (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who reported to more than one foreman (N=28)
31%	57%

$t = 2.07$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

Other than (a) the disorientation such multiple reporting relationships might create for the worker, (b) the lack of continuity in job training that might result, and (c) the lack of certainty as to whom it would be appropriate for the worker to approach with a problem, there is yet another adverse condition that multiple reporting relationships can create for a worker--role conflict. Role conflict is the situation in

which a person is confronted by demands from two or more sources and finds it impossible to meet all these demands simultaneously. Ironically, the role of the foreman constitutes the classic example of a conflicted role; he is characteristically regarded as "the man in the middle" between management on one hand and those whom he supervises on the other hand. In the present study, however, the foremen were the agents of role conflict, frequently making competing demands of the men they supervised. Considering that almost half of the direct hires thought they were reporting to more than one foreman, it is not unexpected that a large number of direct hires said that they were "put in the middle between two foremen who wanted different things." The relationship between such role conflict and turnover is shown in Table 21 which indicates that termination was significantly greater among men who reported that they were "put in the middle" between foremen than those who were not.

TABLE 21

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF BEING PUT "IN THE MIDDLE" BETWEEN TWO FOREMEN WHO WANTED DIFFERENT THINGS (Q384)

Termination rate among direct hires who were "put in the middle" (N= 25)	Termination rate among direct hires who were not "put in the middle" (N=38)
56%	34%

$t = 1.73$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

One of the major aims of the direct hire turnover study was the assessment of the effect upon turnover of the quality of supervision

received by the worker. Quality of Supervision was a five-item index in which the worker reported how adequately he felt his supervisor performed in several important areas of supervision: being efficient, well organized and in control of the situation, being open to suggestions from his subordinates, and being personally close to, trusted by, and supportive of his subordinates. For those workers who had only one foreman, that foreman was the referent of the five questions comprising the Index. If a worker had more than one foreman, however, he was instructed to use as the referent of the five questions the <u>one</u> foreman under whom he spent most of his time working. Workers who could not even specify such a major foreman were not asked the Quality of Supervision questions. Responses to the five questions were summarized in a Quality of Supervision Index. The subsequently obtained distribution of Quality of Supervision Index scores was then divided at the median, and each worker was assigned a new binary score indicating whether he was above or below the sample median on the Index. According to Table 22, workers reporting receiving poorer supervision as measured by the Quality of Supervision Index were significantly more likely to have terminated from their jobs than those who felt they received better supervision.

TABLE 22

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO QUALITY OF SUPERVISION RECEIVED BY DIRECT HIRES (I7)

Termination rate among direct hires reporting high Quality of Supervision (N=31)	Termination rate among direct hires reporting low Quality of Supervision (N=26)
32%	62%

$t = 2.26$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

Since the Quality of Supervision Index was a summary of five items touching on various aspects of supervision, a relevant question raised by the association between turnover and the Quality of Supervision Index is: were there some aspects of supervision that were more closely associated with turnover than others. It might be asserted, for example, that in the eyes of the direct hires in this study being a "good" supervisor was equated with being a "soft" supervisor. The workers might have been very concerned with their supervisors' being nice to them but might not have cared at all about how competent their supervisors were. The data indicated, however, that turnover was just as closely related to differences in supervisory competence, represented by the Quality of Supervision item "had things well planned out and organized," as to whether supervisors "took a personal interest in" their men. On each of the five items in the Quality of Supervision Index workers' more favorable views of their supervisors tended to be associated with lower turnover, although on three of the items the differences were not statistically significant.

The emphasis often placed upon the training of foremen in supervising disadvantaged workers implies that supervisory behavior is a paramount cause of turnover. The data in this study suggested that poor supervision is important, but is only one among many sources of turnover. Training supervisors to deal with the disadvantaged appears to be only a partial attack on the turnover problem. Exclusive concentration upon such a training strategy, however, ignores technological and organizational sources of turnover (e.g., the assignment of men to demanding, dull, and dangerous jobs or to shifts which they do not like).

Concentration on supervisory training also ignores the organizational processes which pass problems down the hierarchy until they stop at the level of the foreman who has little power to change the situations created by the many levels of company management above him. This may conceivably lead to increased turnover for which foremen are unfairly blamed both by their subordinates and by those higher in the company who passed the buck down to the front line.

Much of the effort expended by companies in retraining supervisors to enable them to deal better with disadvantaged new employees either overtly or covertly involves the changing of white supervisors' attitudes and behaviors to enable them to deal more successfully with black workers. Such an approach assumes that foremen with less biased racial attitudes are more successful in retaining black personnel than are more racially prejudiced supervisors. Since no measurement of foremen's racial attitudes was made in the present study, such a contrast was impossible to make with the data at hand. However, the company had many black foremen, and a few of the direct hires were assigned to black foremen. Table 23 contrasts the turnover of workers reporting to black foremen and workers reporting to white foremen. The table shows that the race of a black worker's foreman was related to the worker's chances of staying on a job in the company. Over a third of the direct hires reporting to a white foreman terminated from the company, while none of the few workers reporting to a black foreman did so. The observed relationship was, however, confined to those workers who reported to only one foreman.

TABLE 23

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO RACE OF DIRECT HIRES' FOREMEN (Q375)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires reporting to a black foreman (N=7)	Termination rate among direct hires reporting to a white foreman (N=28)
0%	39%

$t = 1.99$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who reported to more than one foreman.

The Worker's Attitudes and Other Attributes of His Personality

A general assumption mentioned earlier in this section was that turnover from a job is attributable both to characteristics of the job itself and to characteristics of the worker who holds the job. The preceding pages were concerned exclusively with characteristics of workers' jobs that were associated with turnover. The remaining pages of this section concern the association between turnover and personal characteristics of the direct hires in the study.

Several attitudinal, motivational, and other personality measures were included in the direct hire interviews, and a complete list of those indices or questions employed is presented in Appendix A. These measures covered the following general areas: what the worker wanted out of his job; self-reports of skill level in several areas; self-confidence; sense of personal efficacy; and such "middle class" attitudes as the importance the worker attached to work for work's sake and his attitude toward behaving in accordance with time schedules.

These measures were generally unrelated to turnover. Although one of the multi-item indices (I15) was significantly (t = 2.77; $p < .01$) associated with turnover, the direction of the association was not interpretable. An earlier study's factor analysis of what workers wanted out of their jobs indicated that four aspects of jobs formed a factorially identifiable cluster of preferred job characteristics: a clean job, a job that one's friends think a lot of, a job where one does not have to work too hard, and a job that is steady. In the present study workers who scored lower on a job preference index based on these four items (i.e., the workers who <u>least</u> wanted a job with these characteristics) were more likely to terminate than those with higher scores on the index. More understandable was the association between turnover and one of the measures of feelings of personal efficacy (Q144). Workers who indicated greater feelings of efficacy in response to this question were significantly (t = 2.05; $p < .05$) more likely to terminate than those who were more efficacious; this association was not, however, replicated using the study's other efficacy measures. Inasmuch as (a) one of the two observed associations between a personality measure and turnover was uninterpretable, (b) the other observed association failed to be replicated using additional measures from the study with substantively similar content, and (c) none of the other 19 personality indices or items was associated with turnover, it cannot be concluded that turnover was related to the personality measures that were employed. Stated differently, the sources of turnover among direct hires did not appear to be in personality characteristics of the workers but had to be sought elsewhere.

Racial Attitudes

Racial issues, which have up to this point in the present report been touched upon very lightly, constituted a leit-motif underlying many of the company's efforts to recruit and retain its disadvantaged personnel. The company was headquartered in a city in which major racial unrest had occurred and in which blacks were a very large minority of the population. Some of the company's major assembly plants were located either in the heart of or on the perimeter of the city's black ghetto. Available white manpower for these and other company plants was rapidly diminishing. A black faction within the union had recently achieved local prominence in its confrontations with the company and the union's leadership. Both the city and the company were highly sensitive to racial issues. The black direct hires were therefore joining a predominantly white company in a potentially explosive racial environment. They might as a result have been highly sensitive to any indications of racial discrimination which they encountered on their jobs.

In the present investigation five brief measures of workers' racial attitudes were employed. The indices, described in Appendix A, were: the worker's beliefs about how widespread discrimination against blacks was in the company; his beliefs about how widespread discrimination against blacks was in "other companies" as a whole; his report of nonjob related discrimination he had experienced in the past; an index of black militancy; and the worker's belief that white foremen in the company made it harder for black workers.

How might these measures be expected to be related to turnover among the company's direct hire blacks? A directional hypothesis was

employed only with regard to the first and last of the above five measures: workers' beliefs about discrimination in the company and their beliefs that white foremen in the company made it harder for blacks. Those who sensed more discrimination on the part of the company in general and foremen in particular would, it was assumed, be more likely to terminate than others. No prediction was made about the direction of association between turnover and the other three indices. The data indicated that only the question concerning the behavior of white foremen toward blacks was related to turnover. As Table 24 shows, 61 percent of the men who felt that white foremen made it harder for blacks had terminated. Turnover was significantly less among men who did not feel this way.

TABLE 24

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' BELIEFS THAT WHITE FOREMEN IN THE COMPANY MADE IT "HARDER FOR BLACKS THAN FOR WHITES" (Q446)

Termination rate among direct hires who believed that white foremen made it harder for blacks (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not believe that white foremen made it harder for blacks (N=40)
61%	32%

$t = 2.24$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

The men who indicated that white foremen made it harder for blacks were further asked <u>in what ways</u> they made it harder. The way most frequently mentioned involved foremen assigning blacks to the worst and most menial jobs, keeping them there by blocking their advancement,

and keeping them out of skilled trades. The second most frequently mentioned way foremen made it harder for blacks was general harassment ("ride you," "call us nigger," "holler," "always watching your back"). Several workers also felt that white foremen tried to make blacks work harder by adding extra work to their jobs, speeding the line up, and telling them they were not working hard enough.

Demographic Variables
the Worker's Background

Many of the environmental conditions and personality characteristics examined in the previous pages were potentially alterable by either the company or the company's training program for the disadvantaged. The personality and attitudinal characteristics of workers described immediately above were less obviously susceptible to change by the company. Nevertheless, some of these characteristics (e.g., a worker's sense of personal efficacy and his self-confidence) were specific targets of change in the training program. The factors related to turnover to be presented in the remainder of this section were even further removed from possible alteration by the company, since they were characteristics of the worker's background.

To what extent were the elements entering into the definition of being "hard core unemployed"--race, age, education, job history and migration history--associated with turnover among direct hires? The data indicated that although turnover was unrelated to a man's education, it was significantly associated with his age (Table 25) and his previous work history as measured by the number of times he had been unemployed in the last two years (Table 26). Significantly more workers under

TABLE 25

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO AGE[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who were under 21 years old (N=86)	Termination rate among direct hires who were 21 years old or older (N=139)
50%	37%

$t = 1.92$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Since the direct hire stays were sampled in a way intended to maximize the correspondence between the distribution of their ages that of the trainees, this table could obviously not be based on direct hire terminee and stay data. Instead, age data were obtained from company records for each of the 232 men in the "tracking sample" listing of direct hires that was described earlier. This table is based on the tracking sample data.

TABLE 26

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF TIMES IN THE LAST TWO YEARS DIRECT HIRES HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED (I30)

Termination rate among direct hires who were out of work more than twice a year (N=38)	Termination rate among direct hires who were out of work only twice a year or less (N=24)
55%	25%

$t = 2.32$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

21 years old terminated than did others. Although statistically significant, the percentage difference in turnover between the two age groups was considerably less than had been anticipated at the onset of the study. Indeed, findings from earlier research indicating that turnover

among the disadvantaged was related to age were sufficiently consistent that age was employed in the present study as a matching criterion in selecting the various samples.

A more surprising finding occurs in Table 27 which compares workers who had lived all their lives in the metropolitan area where the company was located with those who had not lived all their lives in the community. Over half of the direct hires had always lived in the community; of the remainder, three-quarters had migrated from the south, and about half had moved to the community within the last two years.

TABLE 27

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO WHETHER DIRECT HIRES HAD LIVED ALL THEIR LIVES IN THE COMMUNITY WHERE THE COMPANY WAS LOCATED (Q532)

Termination rate among direct hires who had lived all their lives in the community (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who had not lived all their lives in the community (N=28)
54%	29%

$t = 1.99$; $p < .05$

Although being a migrant from the south was one of the criteria according to which a man could be certified as "hard core unemployed," the men who had lived all their lives in the northern community where the company was located were more likely to terminate from their jobs than were others. March and Simon[1] suggest one possible explanation of this. Turnover from an organization, they maintain, will be high where the worker perceives a wide range of alternative means of gratification outside the organization; the worker who feels that there is little

[1]March and Simon, op. cit.

chance of doing better elsewhere is less likely to leave a job he may dislike. Those men who had lived in the community all their lives may have been more sophisticated about the community than those who had migrated to it; they may have better attuned to alternative job possibilities or more knowledgeable about other means of securing income than the migrants. As a result they would have felt less constrained to stick with their company jobs when they did not like them.

Similar themes of mobility and constraint can be used to interpret the associations reported in Tables 28 and 29 between turnover, a worker's marital status and his responsibility for paying the bills in his household. Quitting a job obviously means losing income for a while. Where a young man is unmarried and has no one to support but himself, the loss affects him alone. When others depend on him for support, however, his sense of responsibility or pressures from those he supports might make him think twice about leaving. It is not surprising, therefore, that more unmarried than married workers terminated (Table 28) and that terminees were more heavily represented among men who said they did not pay most of the household bills where they lived (Table 29).

TABLE 28

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO MARITAL STATUS
(Q552)

Termination rate among direct hires who were unmarried (N=39)	Termination rate among direct hires who were married[a] (N=24)
51%	29%

$t = 1.72$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]All but two of the married workers had at least one child. For all practical purposes this classification therefore means "married, with one or more children."

TABLE 29

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO WHETHER DIRECT HIRES PAID MOST OF THE HOUSEHOLD BILLS WHERE THEY LIVED (Q557)

Termination rate among direct hires who paid most of the bills (N=24)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not pay most of the bills (N=38)
21%	55%

$t = 2.64$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

The present study also investigated the association between turnover and a variety of other characteristics[1] of direct hires' past and present lives outside the company: whether the worker had grown up in a home that had a father or father-substitute; whether his mother or mother-substitute had worked; whether his family had to accept welfare assistance while he was growing up; how much financial pressure he was under at present; whether he had a second job outside of the company; whether he had previously been in any job training programs for the disadvantaged; and the color of his skin.

The only characteristic that was associated with turnover was one which was simultaneously a part of the worker's past, his present, and his future: his skin color. Skin color is not being used here as a euphemism for race, since all the workers in the study were blacks. It means instead how dark- or light-complected the worker was. The skin color of each black worker was rated by the black interviewers on a four point scale ranging from "very light" to "very dark brown or black."

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[1]A complete list of variables used in this analysis is included in Appendix A.

There was not a significant association between turnover and skin color among direct hires as a whole, nor was it expected that there would be. However, Table 30 tests a similar association among a smaller number of workers from whom it was hypothesized that color would make a difference: workers who reported to one white foreman (as opposed to a black foreman or to multiple foremen). The data indicated that in the situation in which a black worker was supervised by one white foreman, the darker-skinned men were more likely to terminate than the lighter-complected ones.

TABLE 30

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO SKIN COLOR (Q574)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who were lighter complected (N=8)	Termination rate among direct hires who were darker complected (N=20)
12%	50%

$t = 1.86$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who reported to black foremen and workers who reported to more than one foreman.

Summary

The associations were investigated between turnover among direct hires and several classes of variables: the content of the worker's job; the hours he worked; the supervision he received; selected aspects of his personality; some of his racial beliefs and attitudes; and characteristics of his background and current life situation. Although in each of these areas more statistically significant associations

appeared than would have been expected by chance, the areas differed considerably in terms of the extent to which their constituent variables were meaningfully related to turnover. The personality variables employed were especially poor predictors of turnover. The only measure of racial beliefs and attitudes related to turnover was a worker's belief that white foremen in the company made it harder for black workers. Several properties of the worker's background or current circumstances of life were also associated with high rates of termination: being young; having a job history marked by frequent unemployment; being unmarried; having someone else pay most of one's household bills; and having a dark complexion. The variables most strongly associated with turnover were those involving the content of the worker's job and the quality of supervision he received. Turnover was significantly higher among workers who reported that: they would find it hard to get their job assignments changed if they did not like them; they did not have consistent job assignments but instead were shifted from work station to work station and treated as replacement personnel; they reported to more than one foreman and were exposed to conflicting demands from these foremen; they were unclear about their work activities and alienated from the production process; they were assigned to jobs that were boring or required that they work too hard or too fast; and they were supervised unfairly or poorly.

4. TURNOVER FROM THE TRAINING PROGRAM

The company's efforts to provide employment for the disadvantaged were not confined to the recruitment of disadvantaged direct hires. At the same time the direct hires were working on their company jobs, the company was conducting an elaborate program of vestibule training for another group of disadvantaged men. The experiences, behaviors, and personal characteristics of these "trainees" constitute the principal focus of the remainder of this report. In the present section, however, the research question remains one of turnover: What factors were associated with turnover from the company's training program?

Prior to presenting data relevant to this and other questions concerning the training program and its effects upon trainees, the pages immediately following will provide descriptive background information concerning the organization of the training program, its goals, its methods, and its personnel. This description is admittedly impressionistic and was not based on the systematic collection of data from trainees. Instead, it was based on formal and informal interviews with or questionnaires sent to the staff of the training program and through direct observation of the training sessions by the investigators and interviewers. The observations began at a time when the more "experimental" initial phases of the program were concluding, and the observations ended at a time when the program had achieved a somewhat greater

degree of sophistication. At present the program is, according to the company's representatives, different from what it was during the time when the present investigation was being conducted. Although the description does not detail all the changes in the program that occurred while the study was being conducted, it should not, therefore, be inferred that the program remained unchanged from its inception or that its designers failed to profit from their experiences.

What the Program Offered Trainees

The inducements which the company offered disadvantaged trainees were quite attractive. Not only was a trainee offered up to six weeks of remedial education, but he was paid while receiving this training. In the early days of the training program each trainee was paid a tax-free stipend of two dollars for each hour he spent in training. Since training classes were scheduled to last eight hours a day for five days a week, this amounted to a weekly check of about $80. During the course of the study, the training stipend was raised to $2.50 for each hour spent in training.

Since the training program was a "vestibule" one, the trainee was neither required nor allowed to do any productive labor in the company while in training. He did not therefore have to split his time between working on a company job and attending the training classes, and his full efforts could be devoted to the activities of the training program.

A number of supportive services were offered to the trainee. Considerable effort was made in the training classes to help trainees

with their "personal problems." Many such problems could be solved by the two-person training staff assigned to each training class. Many problems, however, were beyond this staff's capabilities--for example, financial, medical, psychological and legal problems. When faced with such problems as these the training staff could refer a trainee to more suitable sources of assistance. Domestic, financial, and medical problems were often referred to community service agencies when these problems could not be handled by some resource within the company. If the training staff felt that the problem of a worker was a psychological one with which the training staff was not capable of dealing, they could refer the trainee to a clinical psychologist who was employed full-time by the training program and whose major responsibility was counseling trainees. Many of the problems faced by trainees were legal ones involving parole violations or arrests. To help in such cases the company retained a full-time legal expert whose exclusive responsibility was to help trainees in their problems with the law.

Each trainee was assured that he would be placed on a job in one of the company's local plants once he had completed the training program. Although trainees were generally expected to spend six weeks in the progr trainees who were judged "job ready" by the training staff could be placed on a job earlier. A man who was not regarded as "job ready" at the end of six weeks was sometimes kept in training beyond this period if the training staff felt that he showed promise. Just after the data in the present study were collected, substantial numbers of trainees were kept in the training program beyond six weeks for quite a different reason. The company's hiring at the entry level had fallen to

a low point, and there were few job openings for "job ready" graduates of the training program.

Even after the trainee was placed on a company job, he was able to receive some assistance from the training program. Each trainee who was placed was assigned to a "follow-up advisor" in the plant where he was working. This follow-up advisor, who was on the payroll of the training program, was supposed to counsel the placed trainee on the job and assist him in any problems he might encounter.

Gurin,[1] in an expectancy analysis of job training programs, has noted that real-world pay-offs as well as personality dispositions determine motivated behavior. If a trainee expected a job at the end of training, and if he furthermore hoped he might be given follow-up assistance and preferential treatment on the job because he had been in the training program, his motivation to remain in the program might well have been higher than if there were no such rewards assured. The promise of such rewards was made salient for trainees by occasional lectures from "successful" training program graduates who were working for the company.

Of course, the promised job would not have been an incentive to those who were in the training program for reasons unrelated to securing a company job, such as fulfilling court custody requirements, or getting training that might be helpful in other kinds of work. One trainer pointed out that many of the men were only there for their tax-free weekly training stipend: "I think they'll have people come for the

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[1]G. Gurin, A national attitude study of trainees in MDTA institutional programs (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, 1969).

money only, but when they see what a (small) difference they earn on the job compared with this, they'll quit." Entry-level pay in the company exceeded the hourly stipend for trainees by about one dollar an hour. In addition, health and other fringe benefits, which may or may not have been apparent to the trainee, were provided him once he was placed on a job. But for the unmarried trainee, taxes would take so much from a full week's pay that his take-home pay would be only a little more money for arduous work than it had been while he was in the comparatively undemanding training program.

The Training Sites

The trainees were trained in "classes" of from 15 to 25. The classes were conducted on the premises of several of the company's plants. An attempt was made by the program to accommodate trainees by assigning each to a training class at the plant nearest his home--providing an opening in the class was available. Locating training classes in the plants had the obvious advantage of exposing the worker to his future work and environment without his having to face the demands and distraction of daily labor on the assembly line. Due to the proximity of the training sites to areas where manufacturing was taking place, trainees could be taken on tours of the plants, and lectures on various tools in other job relevant subjects could be provided by plant personnel. The company hoped that due to his exposure to the plant environment the trainee could gradually make the transition from outsider to company employee. During the training program the trainees, at least in principle, had ample opportunity to become familiar with

the layout of the plant, with the manufacturing process, and with the positions in that process that they were being trained to assume. When a trainee was placed on a job, he should--according to the program's intentions--have viewed the accommodations demanded of him as neither strange, nor capricious, nor impossible to fulfill.

In spite of their proximity to the manufacturing process, the trainees could not actually participate in this process and engage in "on the job" training. This was due in part to a shortage of space and qualified personnel to handle this kind of training. Furthermore, union regulations did not allow nonunion people to engage in productive labor. To offset this limitation the company developed what it termed its "hands on" training site. An unused building was converted to a machine shop where unused company equipment was set up and put into operation. Although the equipment was generally obsolete, it was similar enough to equipment currently being used to familiarize the trainees with some types of tools, machines, and procedures they might be employing on their future jobs. Each trainee did not, however, receive a great amount of this "hands on" training since the site had to be shared by all the training groups. Because this "hands on" training was not in full operation when the interviewing for the present study was being conducted, not all the trainees in the study had received this training.

An unequivocal disadvantage of offering training at sites within the plants was the generally poor physical quarters of the classes. One of the sites was quite pleasant and attractive; it was new, clean, air-conditioned, and--above all--isolated from factory noise. Most of the trainees, however, were trained in quarters that were at the other

extreme. In some classrooms noise from manufacturing made it very difficult to hear. Privacy was also scarce. One trainer found it difficult to have personal talks with trainees because "The walls are paper-thin, and you could hear everything." There was commonly insufficient room, poor ventilation, inadequate lighting and a general dinginess that posters and pictures scarcely concealed. As one of the training staff noted, "The heat is terrible." Another said, "At [his plant] it was full of filthy grease." Staff offices were better, but the overall poor quality of the physical accommodations could hardly have encouraged staff and trainees to believe that the company was actively engaged in providing them with the best learning environment possible.

Training Program Personnel

The "advisor" and the "monitor" assigned to each training site constituted most of the training staff dealing directly with trainees. All, save one, of the staff at the sites where trainees were interviewed were black.

Advisors, recruited from either outside or inside the company, had backgrounds in such diverse fields as social work, community organization, athletics, education, and labor relations. Their main task was to serve as administrators of their training units and as counselors of the trainees. The advisors were free to structure their own roles in their units, and differences among them in terms of personal style and the activities of their units make generalizations about them difficult. They had in common, however, both a sincerity about what they were doing in the program and a dedication to helping to build up trainees' self-confidence and pride.

Many of the advisors, although unwavering in their concern with the trainees, became disenchanted because of what they felt was the company's lack of commitment to the training program. They were also cynical about the opportunities for occupational mobility that they believed the company provided blacks--which included themselves as well as the trainees. Following the completion of the study's interviews with trainees and direct hires, one of the investigators interviewed half of the 20 advisors and monitors and sent short questionnaires to the remainder. During this period there were rumors of several upcoming promotions and a general re-organization of the training program's staff. Many of the advisors had seen their training program participation as a first step to advancement in the white business world. Interestingly, this desire of theirs for mobility was in a few cases coupled with a refusal to play "whitey's" corporate games. To use Merton's[1] typology of acceptance or rejection of cultural goals and the concomitant means to these goals, it seems that although the goals of economic advancement and high status were generally accepted by the advisors, a few did not accept the usual means thereto.

When the rumored promotions were announced, many of the advisors were quite resentful that only those they regarded as "Uncle Toms" who "sold out" to the company had been promoted. According to one advisor it was only the "Oreo cookies--black on the outside, white on the inside" who had been promoted. It is quite possible that these accusations were unfounded "sour grapes" judgements. One of the advisors who

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[1]R. Merton, Social theory and social structure (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.)

did get promoted said that these promotions were based on "merit alone, not politics." But even if his belief were completely inaccurate, a black advisor who believed that his race stood in the way of his own promotion would probably have been less than enthusiastic in communicating to his black trainees that they would be given a fair deal by the company.

The second member of each training team, the monitor, had the primary responsibility for conducting the "basic education" activities of the training program. Each monitor was hierarchically subordinated to the advisor in the training unit. Unlike the advisors, the monitors had little to complain about with regard to their own recent promotional history in the company. The monitors, all of whom were women, had worked at secretarial or clerical jobs in the company prior to their joining the training program staff. They had received very large pay raises when they became monitors. Their concern seemed less with their own advancement and more with the fate of the trainees. They appeared deeply involved with their trainees, often protective, trying to teach, understand, and help them.

They were, however, often frustrated and sometimes angry at how they perceived the company responding to trainees both in the program and on the job. Few of the monitors believed with deep conviction that their trainees had much of a chance for substantial upward mobility in the company. At the same time, the training program attempted to motivate the trainees by convincing them that they could indeed "make it" in the company. Like the advisors, the monitors sometimes found themselves in the awkward position of having to convince the trainees of something

about which they were dubious themselves--the trainees' chances for upward job mobility. Yet to have given full expression to some of their own cynicism about the trainees' chances would simply have discouraged the trainees. One monitor commented, "We can't promise office jobs. That's a problem." When asked to elaborate, she shrugged resignedly, "We can't." Another monitor went to great lengths to warn her trainees "what the line will be like. It's no picnic. . . . You have former trainees come in and say that [the trainees] will get jobs and can have upward mobility. But most of them don't. And you know they won't." An example given by one monitor illustrates why she was discouraged about the opportunities for trainees: a trainee with ten years of experience doing skilled labor was denied a position where he could use his skills because he could not pass a written test required by the company. Such tests had been eliminated from entry-level production jobs, but not from the more skilled jobs.

The monitors complained repeatedly about both the inadequate training they had received and the poor quality of the educational materials they were required to use. Despite the fact that the monitors were not professional teachers, they had been given no training for teaching in preparation for their jobs. One said, "I wouldn't be qualified [to teach] because I've only a high school education. I'd want more training for me so I could teach more." As time went on, monitors developed their own styles and became more comfortable in their teaching roles, but the initial difficulties of felt inadequacy and actual inexperience could have been avoided. Both monitors and trainees would probably have gained greatly had monitors been provided with greater

opportunities to acquire teaching skills--or even to share among themselves their day-to-day experiences in their training classes.

The division of labor between monitors as teachers and advisors as counselors was somewhat flexible and varied with each pair. For example, in one unit the advisor spent much time pointing out the importance of dressing neatly and conservatively. In another unit, the monitor handled this issue. In yet another, personal grooming was not discussed. The decentralization of the program encouraged the development of personal styles, but lack of staff training and inadequate materials made such development difficult, and, for the monitors in particular, often fraught with feelings of self-doubt and anxiety.

Educational Goals and Training Materials

Perhaps even calling the training program a "program" has been misleading, because this term suggests a coherent set of fairly standardized practices that each monitor and advisor employed. In such a training "program," the experiences of trainees, no matter which training unit they were in, would have been similar, and the procedures followed would correspondingly have been written down or in some other way recorded. Such procedures could have been taught to both new staff and new trainees. Although the company's training activities did not meet criteria for identifying it as a unified "program," they were not intended to do so, since the program was in some respects experimental. Rather there seem to have been several "themes" that were presented in all the training units, although in different ways and with differing emphases. The themes were four: basic education; job attitudes;

feelings of personal efficacy and self-confidence; and feelings about being black.

The closest the company came to providing a systematic "program" in the sense described above was in the "basic education" it provided trainees. The greatest amount of time in the training sessions was devoted to remedial education in reading, writing, and arithmetic--four hours a day for five days a week. That improving his basic skills in these areas would be of direct advantage to the trainee's job and off-the-job activities was only a subsidiary reason why basic education was introduced into the program. The major reason was that many program staff felt that the trainee's self-confidence would increase as his mastery of basic skills in the "three R's" increased. One of the staff was convinced that a trainee's sense of self-esteem would automatically increase if he could be boosted over the hurdle from functional illiteracy to literacy. Most other staff had more realistic ideas of how much could reasonably be achieved in a few weeks of remedial education. They were content with more modest increases in a trainee's skills, using each increase, no matter how small, as an occasion to praise the trainee and to indicate to him that he could indeed do whatever he set out to do.

The monitors found it difficult, however, to provide this basic education to men whose educations ranged from grammar-school drop-out to a year of college. Describing the responses of trainees to this basic education, one staff member said, "Some don't need it and others don't want it. . . . The ones who have only a fifth grade education you can't

teach in six weeks anyhow. And with all the different grades, you can't teach much anyhow."

To solve this problem the company purchased an "off the shelf" set of programmed educational materials from a private test development corporation. These materials permitted each trainee to "learn at his own pace." The reading booklets in the set were of varying difficulty, and each trainee, based on his reading test performance, had a kit of reading materials appropriate to his own level. He could thus progress at the rate he chose. The idea of individual programmed instruction is laudable. It is a procedure that discourages unproductive competition and provides trainees with an opportunity to reach goals he sets for himself. But, according to many of the company's training staff, the content of the Science Research Associates' materials were inadequate for the needs and interests of the men in the training program. Advisors, monitors and trainees alike found stories such as those about heroes of white America insulting and inappropriate. The booklets were regarded by some of the training staff as simplistic and irrelevant at best, and as condescending and (by omission) racist at worst. Said one monitor, "The stuff is ridiculous; it's to the sixth grade." Another added, "I'd like more advanced material. They [the trainees] aren't as dumb as they are thought to be. . . . We are instructed to use only the material [the company] gives us."

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[1]Two such packages of materials were purchased from two different firms. The first, although used for many months, was abandoned after a storm of protest from the monitors, their general criticism being that the materials were too childish for the adults they were teaching. Trainees in the present study received their basic education instruction from the second set of materials that were purchased.

The basic education materials the monitors were required to use were also insufficient for the program time allotted to basic education. "We don't have enough material. After four weeks you run out of things to say," reported one monitor. Many monitors began to bring their own teaching materials. One Xeroxed lessons from her old high school text-books. Monitors laboriously developed their own lesson plans; one spent time teaching "about bank accounts and about buying on credit--how you pay interest." Using money was an important theme many monitors included in their teaching because, as another said, "I tell them to read the fine print. . . . One of the biggest hang-ups is money." This same monitor added that much discussion ensued after "I gave them a personality profile; I got it from a book at (a local University)." It seemed to be a superficial test of social etiquette or social skills. Such "personality profiles" and some of the other activities used to fill the time seemed to be simply that--time fillers rather than important learning experiences.

Often, on hot or particularly noisy days, or on Fridays, classes were simply dismissed. In many units the men were rarely expected to spend a full eight hours, five days a week in their classes. Long lunch breaks and frequent free periods were also common, simply because the staff could not find enough to fill the eight hours a day they were in charge of their classes.

The training program also attempted to modify the "job attitudes" of trainees. Although entry level jobs in the company required few skills, holding these jobs required obeying rules about attendance, safety, handling company property, and a few other easily learned norms.

The training program staff repeatedly told trainees about these few rules, not necessarily in order to have the trainees accept these rules as fair or reasonable but rather to impress upon them that if they did not behave according to these rules they would be fired. Public compliance, and not necessarily private agreement, was stressed.

Tours of the plants and lectures from plant personnel on the use of tools, machines, and other equipment could be scheduled at the discretion of the advisor. There was a vast amount of telephoning, persuading, and paperwork involved in organizing these activities, and advisors who found all these arrangements too time-consuming or doubted the value of these lectures and tours were free not to include them on their training agendae. Two aspects of the job were given considerable attention in all the training groups--job safety and time. Frequent and emphatic reference was made to trainees of the importance of their learning how critical time was to jobs in the company. It was repeatedly emphasized to trainees that they could not hope to keep their company jobs unless they showed up for work regularly and punctually. Training classes began very early in the morning, almost as early as the company's morning shift. Trainees with difficult home situations, poor transportation, and erratic living conditions were urged and helped to work out these problems while they were in training. The emphasis was upon helping the trainee to develop good attendance habits while he enjoyed the comparative protection of the training program rather than waiting until he was on the job and a few unexcused absences or late arrivals at work would get him fired. For this reason, the training staff, while generally very tolerant of some forms of trainee's violations of program rules,

insisted on regular and prompt attendance. Although the staff tolerated more absences than would a foreman in the company, they did not hesitate to terminate a trainee on the grounds of chronic, unexcused absenteeism. With regard to any company rule the infraction of which could result in dismissal, advisors and monitors were very strict and attempted to provide the trainee with a preview of the discipline he would be exposed to on his job. Unlike many foremen, however, they were willing to give violators of certain rules a second, or third, or even fourth chance to stay in the company.

Perhaps the most important goal of the training program, from the perspective of the advisors and monitors, was helping trainees to increase their self-confidence, to "feel better" about themselves. The frequent praising by the staff of the accomplishments of each trainee would have been comparatively easy had the number of trainees in each training class been as small as originally intended. It was far harder for the staff to give such individual encouragement and reinforcement when the staff were confronted with two dozen men in a single training group. Even if classes had been smaller, increasing trainees' self-confidence would have been a formidable task. How, if at all, could such central notions about the self be changed in a few weeks of training? The advisors and monitors employed a number of techniques in their efforts to create these changes, including role-playing, the sharing of experiences among trainees, being "very supportive" of trainees, and otherwise indicating that they valued the trainees and that the trainees should value each other.

In spite of these intentions staff members were sometimes confronted with men whom they felt even their best efforts could not help. A major problem was that habitual drug users were sometimes unknowingly accepted into the program. Since the training program was not intended to serve these men, and since the staff did not have the professional training needed to assist the men with their problem, the staff felt helpless in dealing with the problems of the habitual user. It was also difficult to reach some men for other reasons. First, there was the "immaturity" of some of the trainees' attitudes and behavior. As one monitor said, "He's [trainees in general] the age to be a man, but he's still an adolescent." A second problem was the awkwardness some monitors felt about trying to be both close and frank with the trainees while simultaneously being women in positions of authority over male trainees. At the same time, one advisor was talking to his training class about how black society was "a matriarchy--what, and why this is, and how they're going to change it."

Such obstacles to reaching trainees notwithstanding, advisors and monitors consistently and persistently tried to communicate to trainees a sense of personal worth and self-esteem. Although acquiring or strengthening such feelings might not have been necessary for a man to keep his job in the company, these feelings were seen by the program staff as vital to the health and growth of the trainees, and fostering trainees' well-being was one of the staff's major goals.

A closely related theme in the training program was that "black is beautiful" and that a trainee's racial and cultural heritage provided ample justification for his pride and self-respect. Thus, a man was

urged to be proud of himself not only because he was a good man but also because he was a black man. Pictures of civil-rights heroes and other prominent blacks decorated the training sites, and lectures on black history were initiated to instill in trainees a proud and meaningful sense of black consciousness. Said one advisor, "We look at different heroes like Malcolm X or Martin Luther King. We'd go through his life and see what he did." Another added, "We're talking about self-motivation and pride and seeing the contributions of blacks." The black staff differed among themselves, however, on the importance of black-related studies and discussions in their training classes. Some thought these were the most important things that the program could offer trainees. Others, however, agreed with the advisor who thought them an unnecessary part of a man's training for a factory job: "It has nothing to do with how he'll work a machine. For their hang-ups, yes."

Being black in a predominantly white company was either the open or unspoken issue in many of the discussions between the training staff and trainees, although it was not usually written into the program's formal agenda. There was, however, one time when racial issues were conspicuously included into the training program's curriculum by some of the staff. This was when they began "formally" to set aside time to teach black history. When the teaching of black history became apparent to some of the company's management who were not connected with the training program, such teaching was summarily stopped by executive fiat. Most of the advisors and monitors were reluctant to discuss what one called this "order to get rid of the books," referring to the books that were being used to teach black history. According to one advisor,

"there was a lot of turmoil and rumors. And the company felt, maybe justly so, that black history was a hindrance to productive employment." When asked why he did not continue to teach black history less formally, he replied, "We were told to stop!" A monitor, describing the same episode, reported that "supervisors" were sent to the training sites to make sure that, once the order by the company to "stop teaching black history" was given, it was still not being taught sub rosa in the training units. Most of the resentment of advisors and monitors over the decision to stop the teaching of black history was not, however, aimed at the decision itself. It was instead aimed at the arbitrary way the decision had been made and executed.

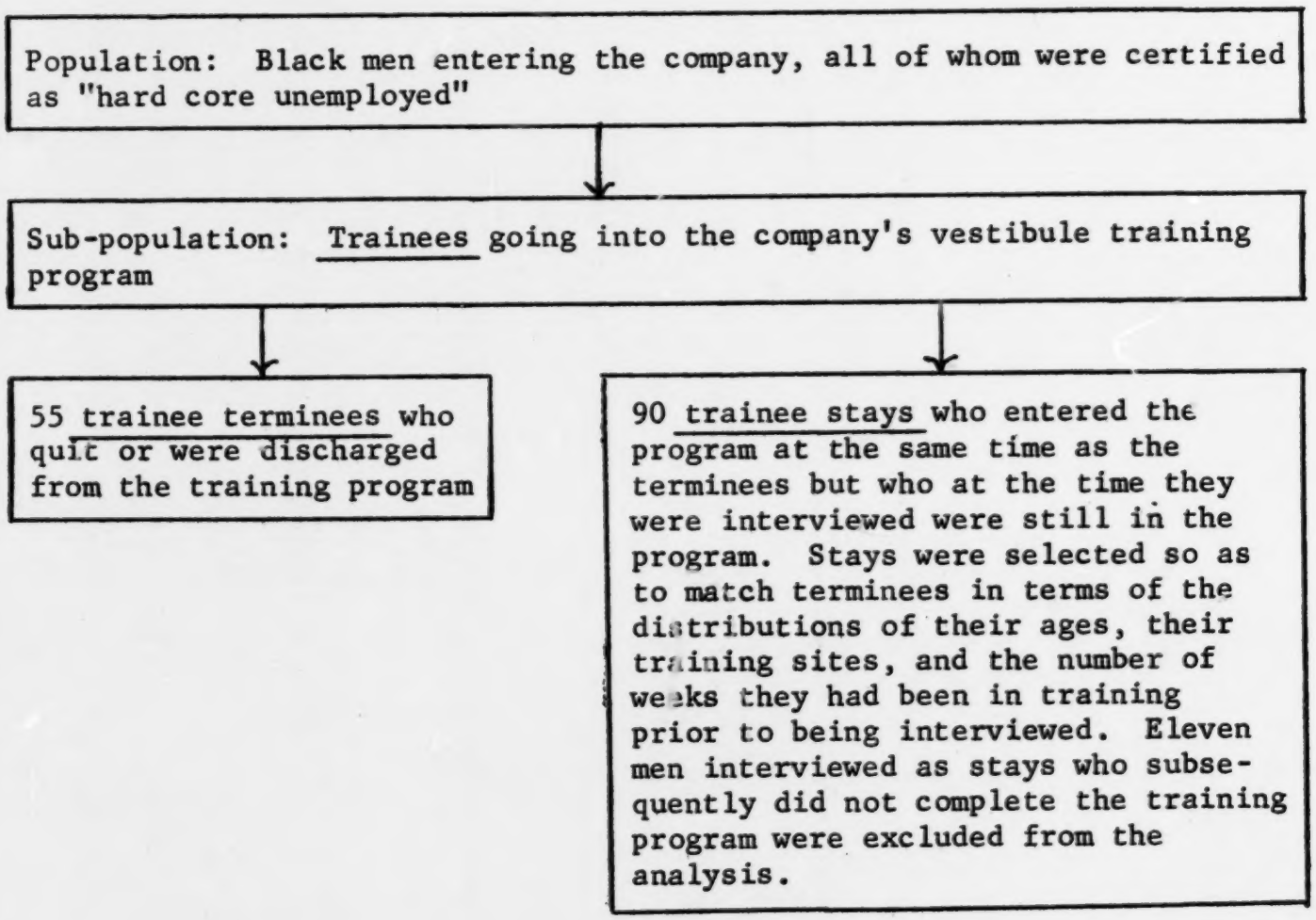
Strategy of the Turnover Analysis

In order to identify the factors associated with turnover from the training program just described, an analysis strategy was employed that was comparable to that applied above to the data obtained from direct hires. That is, differences in rate of turnover were investigated for men who differed in terms of their personal characteristics or their perceived experiences in the training program. In order to assess these characteristics and experiences, interviews were conducted with two samples of trainees: trainee terminees and trainee stays.

Trainee terminees were selected from a sample listing of all black men entering the training program between two arbitrarily fixed dates. Termination from the training program was defined as leaving the training program either voluntarily or involuntarily without having been graduated from the program. A trainee terminee interview was

FIGURE 2

SAMPLES USED IN TRAINEE TURNOVER ANALYSIS


Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"
Sub-population: Trainees going into the company's vestibule training program
55 trainee terminees who quit or were discharged from the training program
90 trainee stays who entered the program at the same time as the terminees but who at the time they were interviewed were still in the program. Stays were selected so as to match terminees in terms of the distributions of their ages, their training sites, and the number of weeks they had been in training prior to being interviewed. Eleven men interviewed as stays who subsequently did not complete the training program were excluded from the analysis.

administered to the first 55 men in the trainee sample listing who terminated from the training who could be located, and who consented to be interviewed. All trainee terminee interviews were conducted off the company's premises, mostly in the terminees' homes; they were all conducted within two weeks (generally one) following a man's termination.

The trainee stays were 90 men from the trainee sample listing who were interviewed while they were still in the training program. This sample was selected to match the trainee terminee sample in terms of the distributions of the men's ages, the training site to which they had been assigned, and the number of weeks they had been in training

prior to being interviewed.[1] All trainee stays were interviewed in private offices or in other areas near their training sites.

The Termination Event

According to the reports of the trainee terminees, only a quarter of their terminations were voluntary (Table 31). Among those who terminated voluntarily, three major reasons were given for termination (Q38):

1. The trainee anticipated unacceptable job placement upon being graduated from the training program (e.g., he did not want assembly-line work, but felt that assignment to such work was inevitable; he felt he had been initially "promised" a job commensurate with some special skills he had but later found out that he would not be assigned to such a job; or he thought his chances of securing a job he had been "promised" were poor);

2. the trainee reported disliking a particular aspect of the training program;

3. the trainee had personal problems which necessitated his voluntary termination.

The remaining three-quarters of terminations from the training program were, according to the reports of the terminees, involuntary. Most of the involuntary terminations were attributed by trainees (Q39) to difficulties involving regular and prompt attendance at the training sessions. Eighty-seven percent of the trainees who were involuntarily

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[1]Shortly after being interviewed, eleven men who were interviewed as trainee stays terminated from the training program. In all tables below which employ termination rate as a dependent variable, these eleven "false stays" have been excluded.

TABLE 31

CHARACTERISTICS OF TERMINATION SITUATION OF TRAINEES[a]

	Percentage of Trainee Terminees
Type of termination (Q37; N=52)	
Trainees who quit the training program	23%
Trainees who were discharged from the training program	77
Job prospects at time of leaving program (Q2; N=54)	
Trainee had a job pretty well lined up when he left the program	11%
Trainee did not know what he would be doing for work when he left the program	89
Work situation after leaving program (Q3; N=54)	
Trainee was working at time of his termination interview (within the first two weeks after termination)	9%
Trainee was not working at time of his termination interview	91
Desire to be back in training program (Q42; N=55)	
Trainee wanted to be back in the program	75%
Trainee did not want to be back in the program	25

[a]All data in this table and in the remaining tables of the section were obtained exclusively from interviews with trainee stays or trainee terminees. Since no data obtained from trainee inductees are presented in this section, the designation "trainee" in any table in this section should be read as "trainee stay and/or terminee."

terminated reported that their advisors had told them that they were being terminated for chronic absenteeism or tardiness. Among those men who had been involuntarily terminated, 37 percent felt that it had been fair of the company to let them go. By contrast none of the direct hires who were involuntarily terminated felt that their dismissals had been fair.

These statistics should, however, be surrounded with all the caveats concerning the empirical distinction between voluntary and involuntary terminations that were pointed out earlier with regard to the direct hires. Whether a trainee had quit the training program or had been dismissed was no less ambiguous than whether a direct hire had quit or had been fired from his job. Although the training staff were less strict than the foremen of the direct hires in firing men because of repeated absenteeism or tardiness, the importance of regular and punctual attendance was constantly stressed in the training sessions. Discharging a trainee because of irregular attendance served to impress upon other trainees the importance of such regularity. Moreover, telling a trainee that he was being dismissed because of absenteeism was more comfortable to the training staff than pointing out to him that he was being discharged because of other less easily discussed reasons. The investigators' review of the training staff's termination reports indicated that in many terminations absenteeism seemed to be an "excuse" for terminating trainees rather than the real reason. As a result, the high proportion of trainees who felt they were discharged because of absenteeism may seriously misrepresent the real conditions surrounding many dismissals.

The Content of the Training Program[1]

Trainees' evaluations of the content of the training program were obtained in a series of questions asking whether the training program devoted "too much," "too little," or "about the right amount of" time to a variety of job-relevant matters: learning about safety and the use of machines and tools; learning to read, write, and work with figures; learning the importance of prompt and regular job attendance; and learning about techniques for adjusting to other people and crises on the job. None of the indices (I1 through I5) based on these questions was associated with turnover from the training program.

The Trainee's Future Jobs

A trainee could conceivably not have liked being in the training program and yet not have terminated *if* he felt that the company job that would materialize for him upon his graduation from the program justified his "sticking it out" for six weeks of training. For this reason each trainee terminee was asked to evaluate several aspects of his future job prospects in the company: how good the type of work he would be doing would be (Q101); his future chances for promotion (Q100); how easy he felt it would be to get a change in job assignment if he did not like his post-training job (Q108); the pay he would be receiving (Q98); the hours he would be working (Q99); and how well he would be treated by those over him (Q102). He was also asked to estimate the probabilities that he attached to securing the jobs he would most and least like to have in the company (Q90,94). For trainee terminees analogous questions

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[1]Some descriptive tables concerning trainees' reactions to the content of the training program are presented in Appendix C.

were phrased more (and perhaps too) hypothetically to refer to the jobs they would have received had they completed training.

Only one of these "future job" questions was associated with turnover, and the direction of association was not that which was predicted. Those who felt that it was very likely that they would start out on the company job that they would most like to have were significantly more likely to have terminated than those who felt it was less likely that they would receive such a job assignment (Table 32).

TABLE 32

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' ESTIMATES OF THEIR CHANCES OF SECURING THE POST-TRAINING COMPANY JOB THEY WOULD MOST LIKE TO START OUT WITH (Q90)[a]

Termination rate among trainees who felt it was very likely that they would start out on the job they desired (N=39)[b]	Termination rate among trainees who felt it was not very likely that they would start out on the job they desired (N=79)[b]
61%	35%

$t = 2.76$; $p < .01$

[a]For a trainee terminee the referent of this question was the job he would have liked to start out with had he completed the training program.

[b]Excludes trainees who could not specify a particular job they would like to start out with in the company.

The Hours of the Training Program

There was no association between turnover and trainees' feelings about the length of the daily training session (Q45). On the other hand, Table 33 shows that liking the time of day the training session met was significantly related to turnover. Among trainees who felt that the

scheduling of the sessions was good only 34 percent terminated; but among those less satisfied with this scheduling, 70 percent had terminated. Since tardiness and absenteeism were the primary reasons that trainees were involuntarily terminated, this association between turnover and the scheduling of the training sessions is not surprising.

TABLE 33

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' EVALUATIONS OF THE TIME OF DAY THEIR TRAINING CLASSES MET (Q44)

Termination rate among trainees who felt the time of day of training was "pretty good" (N=110)	Termination rate among trainees who felt the time of day of training was not "pretty good" (N=24)
34%	70%

$t = 3.30$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Rescheduling training sessions to start later in the day probably would not have reduced turnover from the program, because this rescheduling would have been contrary to the wishes of the bulk of the trainees, 81 percent of whom felt the existing training hours were "pretty good." Running two "shifts" of training sessions might have been of some help in reducing turnover from the training sessions. But even this solution to the scheduling problem would, for reasons to be discussed in Section 5, have created unfortunate ramifications for turnover from the jobs on which trainees were later to be placed.

Treatment of the Trainee by His Organizational Superiors

The five items in the Quality of Supervision index employed in the direct hire turnover analysis were phrased in sufficiently general terms that they applied equally well to each trainee's "immediate superiors"--the advisor and monitor who were, for trainees, counterparts of the direct hires' foremen. The data indicated that trainees' reports of the quality of the direction they received from their advisors and monitors were unrelated to termination from the training program.

The only interview question pertinent to supervision that was associated with turnover from the training program was that asking how fairly the trainee felt he had been treated by the company during his training. Twenty-seven percent of the trainees who felt that the company was completely fair to them had terminated; a significantly greater percentage (58%) of those who felt the company was less than completely fair had terminated (Table 34). As was the case with the direct hires, most of the illustrations of unfair treatment reported by the trainees concerned their having been discharged for reasons they felt were unfair.

TABLE 34

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' REPORTS OF HOW FAIRLY THEY WERE TREATED WHILE IN TRAINING (Q115)

Termination rate among trainees who felt they were treated "completely fairly" (N=74)	Termination rate among trainees who felt they were not treated "completely fairly" (N=59)
27%	58%

$t = 3.73$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

While most complained that they had not been afforded sufficient opportunity to explain the absences which resulted in their terminations, some felt that they had been unfairly singled out for termination because of their absences. Said one,

> When they cut me loose, it seems like they should have cut half the class loose, because it seems like half of the class was just as bad as me as far as absenteeism.

Among the situations cited by trainees as examples of unfair treatment that did <u>not</u> involve termination episodes, the most prevalent form of such unfair treatment involved trainees' reports that the company or the training staff had not given the trainee what they had promised him. Some felt they had been misled about the types of jobs for which they were being trained. For example,

> The program was nothing I expected. They misled me on job opportunities.

> They lied about the job I'm going to get. They lie a whole lot.

> I really thought I was going to get into the clerical or stock handling departments. I had been led to believe I would receive training in the industrial or clerical field and would get the job at the end of training if I qualified.

Still others felt cheated because the training activities did not sufficiently fill up the time allotted to them and hence wasted the trainees' time. Particularly singled out for such criticism were the training activities at the plant where the "hands on" training was held:

> We stay out there too long. We do the same thing over and over again. They ain't too much you can do out there. You know, they're fixing that place up out there. And after you get through doing the little we can do, you just lay dead all day.

> The (hands on training) is messed. . . . There are only three instructors out there, and it's not enough. All you do is sit down for eight hours.

We wasn't learning nothing. They didn't have the proper equipment to learn anything.

The Trainee's Attitudes and Other Attributes of His Personality

The study's personality measures (Appendix A) failed to exhibit any consistent or interpretable relationships with termination in the study's analysis of turnover among direct hires. The same measures had fared scarcely better when used in the analysis of turnover among trainees.

The only personality-like characteristic of trainees that was related to turnover was trainees' attitudes toward time schedules. Table 35 indicates that trainee turnover was significantly higher among trainees who had a more relaxed attitude toward time. Trainees who preferred to "let things happen in their own way" rather than scheduling them were more likely to have terminated than trainees who were more predisposed to organize their activities in accordance with time schedules. Since so many of the terminations among trainees involved difficulties with time schedules (i.e., not showing up for training regularly or on time), it is reasonable that trainees' attitudes toward time should be related to turnover.

TABLE 35

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' FEELINGS ABOUT FOLLOWING TIME SCHEDULES (Q138)

Termination rate among trainees who preferred to "let things happen in their own way" rather than scheduling them (N=68)	Termination rate among trainees who preferred to schedule activities rather than letting them "happen in their own way" (N=66)
51%	30%

$t = 2.73$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Racial Attitudes

Of the five measures of racial attitudes employed in the study (Appendix A) only one was significantly related to turnover among trainees. Trainees with more racially militant attitudes were more likely to terminate than less militant trainees (Table 36). This was true, however, only for younger trainees, those 20 years old or less; for older trainees there was no comparable association between militancy and turnover.

TABLE 36

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO MILITANCY OF TRAINEES' RACIAL ATTITUDES (I14)[a]

Termination rate among more militant trainees (N=32)	Termination rate among less militant trainees (N=20)
53%	30%

$t = 1.68$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Includes only trainees who were under 21 years old.

There are at least two possible explanations for this association between trainees' racial attitudes and turnover. The first assumes that the terminations of more militant young men were largely voluntary. The more militant may thus have been more quickly fed up with the prospects of working in the white dominated company. This inference seems particularly plausible in light of training session discussions about some of the injustices (real or imagined) toward blacks taking place in the company. Or perhaps these young men felt uncomfortable about being "supervised" by women (the monitors) or reacted negatively to

what these men may have perceived as the more middle class and generally less militant racial attitudes of both the advisors and monitors. The social class differences between the militant trainees and the training staff--as well as the associated attitudinal differences--may have created between them a gulf so large that it could not be bridged by any amount of effort by the training staff to "reach" the trainees. As one trainee commented:

> When you tried to explain it (to his advisor and monitor), they already had the grass under their feet. They have theirs, so why should <u>they</u> care? They wouldn't try to understand the ordinary problems a person would live, although they pretended to.

Assuming on the other hand that most of the terminations among the younger and more militant trainees were involuntary, the higher rate of termination by these trainees may have reflected the more negative reactions of the advisors and monitors to them. The most militant trainees might have also have been the least tractable. Being more difficult to "reach" by the training staff may have led to their being regarded as not having the "right attitude" toward training or as being "trouble-makers"--either of which conditions could heighten a trainee's chances of being dismissed from the program.

But it is impossible to conclude from the data available in the study which, if either, of these two explanations is correct. The appropriateness of either explanation could be established were it possible to show that the young, black, militant trainees who terminated were more likely to have quit than to have been discharged involuntarily. The circumstances surrounding so many terminations were, however, so confused that the data would not bear such analysis.

Demograhpic Variables and the Trainee's Background

All, save one, of the study's demographic and background variables (Appendix A) failed to be related to turnover from the training program. The one such variable that was associated with turnover among trainees was one which was also associated with turnover among direct hires--the color of a man's skin. Table 30 has already shown that among black direct hires the darkness of a black man's skin was associated with his chances of terminating from the company. Since this association was observed only among workers whose foremen were white, it would have been tempting to conclude from Table 30 that some racially [illegible]d white foremen were discriminating against darker skinned workers. But an association between skin color and turnover was also observed among trainees whose advisors and monitors were themselves black. According to Table 37, young, dark-skinned blacks were more likely to terminate from the training program than young blacks who were lighter-complected; among older trainees there was no association between skin color and turnover.

TABLE 37

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO SKIN COLOR (Q293)[a]

Termination rate among trainees who were lighter complected (N=20)	Termination rate among trainees who were darker complected (N=32)
20%	59%

$t = 2.85$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Includes only trainees who were under 21 years old.

The data suggest that although the advisors and monitors continually sounded the "black is beautiful" theme in their training classes, perhaps this theme was more appealing to them in principle than in practice. An alternative explanation of Table 37 is that all trainees, regardless of their complexions, received equal treatment in the training program but that the younger and darker-complected workers responded more negatively to the treatment they received. This might be expected if they had in the past received worse treatment than their lighter skinned brothers and had as a result become more bitter and sensitive toward anything in the company which they might interpret as racial abuses. They could as a result have become "fed up" with the company more quickly and left the training program more readily.

Summary

Turnover from the training program was investigated in relation to several different classes of variables: trainees' evaluations of the content of the training program; their evaluations of the future jobs they would receive in the company upon completion of their training; their feelings about the hours the training sessions met; how well they felt they had been treated by the company and the training staff; selected aspects of their personalities; some of their racial attitudes; and selected background and demographic characteristics. Of the questions and indices used in the trainee turnover analysis, only six were related to turnover--barely in excess of what might be expected by chance employing a 5 percent probability level. Of the few variables that <u>were</u> associated with trainee turnover, two concerned time (the trainee's preference for letting things "happen their own way" rather than scheduling them and

how much he liked the hours his training class met), and two concerned racial matters (the color of the trainee's skin and the militancy of his racial attitudes.) But overall it must be concluded that the present study was unsuccessful in indentifying the relevant factors that might be associated with turnover from the training program.

That the trainee turnover analysis failed to identify any systematic effects of the trainees' experiences on turnover helps, however, to dispel a reservation that one might otherwise have concerning the validity of the data in the direct hire turnover analysis. The data in both turnover analyses were, it should be remembered, retrospective. Terminees were asked to describe their recent experiences with a company from which they had just terminated--often involuntarily. It might be expected, therefore, that terminees would as a result of their termination experience have developed unfavorable views of the company--if for no other reason than to justify their termination. The stays, on the other hand, might bias their reports of the company in the opposite direction to justify their remaining in the company. It is impossible to determine the extent to which the data obtained from the terminees and stays reflected such after-the-fact rationales. But if they did, they were extraordinarily selective rationales. Why, for example, were such rationales adopted by the direct hires and not by the trainees? The direct hire terminees had unfavorable views of their jobs and the supervision they received. But the trainee terminees' views of the training program's content, their future company jobs, and their "supervisors" were no less favorable then those of the trainee stays. Why also did the index concerning discrimination against blacks in the company fail to be associated with turnover? Why did the terminees not take the opportunity to describe the company as racially biased as a means of

justifying their terminations? If, therefore, one is tempted to attribute the results of the turnover analysis to retrospective report biases, one must also explain both why the biases were operative for only direct hires but not the trainees and with reference only to certain content areas (i.e., with reference to the content of the direct hires' jobs and the supervision they received but not to many other matters covered in the direct hires' interviews.)

5. EFFECTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM ON TRAINEES

Analysis Strategy

Among the many companies currently attempting to provide jobs for the disadvantaged, some do this simply by making extra efforts to recruit new employees from among the disadvantaged. They recruit such workers and place them directly on jobs without any special training, although supplementary training or other means of skill-upgrading may be provided the worker after he has begun work. On the other hand, other companies expose all their disadvantaged recruits to a period of vestibule training before these workers begin working. As a result, it is very difficult to estimate the value of such vestibule training. The benefits of vestibule training can be assessed reliably only if a company: (a) recruits a sizeable number of disadvantaged persons, (b) exposes some of them to a vestibule training program and assigns others directly to jobs without any vestibule training, and (c) ultimately assigns both groups to the same type of jobs. Only under such conditions can all the community, company, and job factors that may affect turnover be controlled and the effects of the vestibule training per se be accurately estimated.

Such a condition existed in the attempts by the company in the present study to provide jobs for the disadvantaged. The trainees were exposed to several weeks of vestibule training in the company's training program, while the direct hires did not receive such training. The

company was therefore conducting a "natural experiment" that provided an opportunity to estimate the effect of a vestibule training program upon the disadvantaged men entering the company.

To assess the impact of the company's training program, the direct hire stays will be contrasted in the pages below with a sample of placed trainees. Each of the 22[1] placed trainees interviewed (a) had already been interviewed as a trainee stay, (b) had successfully completed the training program, and (c) had been working at a post-training job in the company for up to six weeks at the time of his interview. Two additional sample selection criteria required that the placed trainees be selected from the plants at which the direct hires were working and that the distribution of the number of weeks the placed trainees had been working on their company jobs be comparable to that of the

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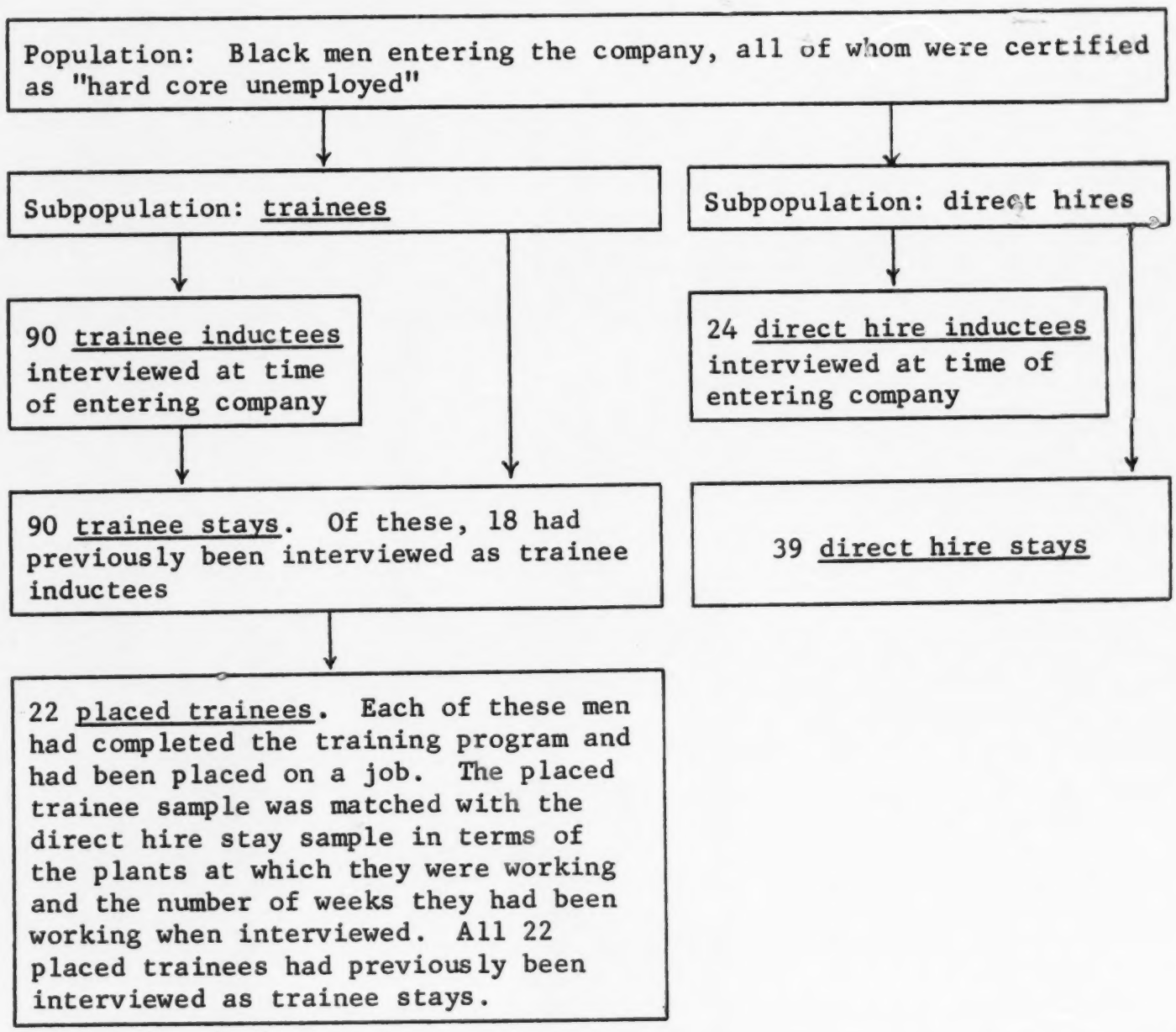
[1]The original design of the study required that 50 of the trainee stays later be interviewed as placed trainees. Four circumstances made the actual number of placed trainee interviews considerably smaller. First, eleven trainee stays terminated from the training program after having been interviewed. Second, the company's placement records were at times sufficiently late or inaccurate that by the time some placed trainees were located they had been working on the job too long to qualify for inclusion in the sample. Third, a few of the otherwise eligible placed trainees were not working at the plants where the direct hire stays were working. Fourth, short-term labor shortage in the plants led the company to take many trainee stays who would otherwise have been sampled as placed trainees out of the training program after only three or four weeks and place them on jobs. This labor shortage was followed by a wild-cat strike which delayed the placement of some other trainee stays. As a result, many of the possible candidates to be interviewed as placed trainees had, at the time for which interviewing in the plants was scheduled, been in the training program for what the investigators regarded as either an abnormally large or abnormally small number of weeks. Such men were not included in the sample of placed trainees. In retrospect, this latter restriction in the sampling appears to have been unnecessary since, as data in the following section will show, few trainees received a full six weeks of training.

number of weeks the direct hire stays had been working. Although the placed trainees were similar to the direct hire stays in terms of the number of weeks they had been working when they were interviewed, the placed trainees had been in the company longer because they had previously spent several weeks in the training program.

FIGURE 3

SAMPLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF TRAINING UPON TRAINEES[a]


Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"
Subpopulation: trainees
Subpopulation: direct hires
90 trainee inductees interviewed at time of entering company
24 direct hire inductees interviewed at time of entering company
90 trainee stays. Of these, 18 had previously been interviewed as trainee inductees
39 direct hire stays
22 placed trainees. Each of these men had completed the training program and had been placed on a job. The placed trainee sample was matched with the direct hire stay sample in terms of the plants at which they were working and the number of weeks they had been working when interviewed. All 22 placed trainees had previously been interviewed as trainee stays.

[a]A more complete figure showing all the samples used in the present study is presented in Appendix D.

The two samples differed systematically in that one (the placed trainees) had gone through the company's training program while the other (the direct hire stays) had not. If it could be shown that after equal exposure to the company jobs the two groups differed in terms of their job-relevant values, expectations, and attitudes and that they had not differed at the time they entered the company, the observed differences could provisionally be attributed to changes that the training program had effected in trainees. If, on the other hand, the two groups were equivalent at the time they entered the company and were still equivalent when they were later interviewed as direct hire stays or placed trainees, the effects of training could be regarded as negligible. In short, the placed trainees can be regarded as an experimental group which received the experimental "treatment" of having completed the training program, whereas the direct hire stays can be regarded as a "control" group that was initially similar to the experimental group but from which the experimental treatment was withheld.

Equivalence of Trainees and Direct Hires

The analysis strategy described above hinges upon whether the placed trainees and direct hire stays can justifiably be regarded as comparable at the time they entered the company. A closely related question is the extent to which the subpopulations of trainees and direct hires can be regarded as part of the same population.

The manner in which the study's initial sample listings were constructed (see Sections 3 and 4) helped to insure that the trainees and direct hires would be equivalent in a number of important respects.

1. They all lived in the same community and had joined the same company. Hence any change in the local economy or the company's economic health affecting one subpopulation would also affect the other.

2. When trainees successfully completed the training program and began to work on the line, they were assigned to the same general types of entry-level jobs in the company as the direct hires.

3. Direct hires were selected only from those plants at which the men who completed the training program were placed in substantial numbers.

4. All men selected had been "officially" certified as "hard core unemployed." Certification of each trainee was made by the State Employment Service, and certification of each direct hire was made either by the State Employment Service or a company representative. This difference in source of certification could potentially have resulted in the company's being less stringent as to whom it would certify, since it was committed to hiring as many "hard core unemployed" workers as it could. This in turn could have resulted in the direct hire subpopulation being less disadvantaged than the trainees. Toward the end of the study's data collection, for example, it was difficult to find appropriate direct hires to be interviewed because the ranks of the company's newly hired "hard core unemployed" were being filled with young black men who were just leaving high school at the beginning of summer. These direct hires were "hard core unemployed" only on a technicality: they were black, presently unemployed, and, by virtue of having been in school, had no recent history of steady employment. They were not included in the study's sample listings.

5. Race and sex of the two subpopulations were controlled by restricting the sample listings to black men.

6. The direct hire sample listings were constructed so that they would be similar to the trainee subpopulation listings in terms of age and education.

7. As a result of the data having been collected from trainees and direct hires over a period of several months (Table 1, p. 8), momentary matters of company history may in some undetected way have affected the interview responses of direct hires and trainees. The early weeks of data collection were largely devoted to obtaining information from trainees and subsequent weeks to men who were working on company jobs. Since placed trainees were in the latter group, however, their interviews were conducted during the same period as those of the direct hire stays.

In spite of these attempts to make the trainee and direct hire samples comparable, it was still possible that the placed trainees and direct hire stays could have differed systematically in terms of either their backgrounds or the personality characteristics they possessed when entering the company. Differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays were examined for each of 19 measures of their personal histories, current life situations, and demographic characteristics. None of these measures significantly differentiated placed trainees from direct hire stays. Although not statistically significant, there were tendencies for the placed trainee sample to be older than the direct hire stays and to have grown up somewhere other than the community in which the company was located. These differences were, however,

attributable to attrition in the direct hire sample. As Tables 26 and 27 have already shown, direct hires who were younger and had lived in the community for a long time were more likely to terminate from their jobs than others. In addition, the placed trainees did not appear to be any more "hard core unemployed" than the direct hire stays. The two samples did not differ on any of the criteria that are customarily used to characterize a man as being "hard core unemployed": race, age, education, employment history, and migration history.

Since a man's background could hardly have been altered by the training program, the above inferences about characteristics of placed trainees and direct hires at the time they entered the company could legitimately be made from information collected from them at a later time. This was not the case, however, with regard to the personality variables employed in the study, because some of these were targets of change by the training program. For this reason, the initial equivalence of the trainee and direct hire subpopulations was examined using information obtained from interviews with two additional samples--trainee inductees and direct hire inductees.

The trainee inductee interview was administered to 90 randomly selected trainees at the time of their induction into the training program but before they had been assigned to training units. The interview was conducted at the central company site to which trainees were required to come in groups of 15 to 30 men to be screened. During this two-day induction period the inductees were given physical examinations, took various types of tests, and filled out forms. The induction interviews were timed to occur at the very end of this process--immediately

after a man had been officially accepted into the program (e.g., after his certification as hard core unemployed had been made, after he had been found to be physically qualified, etc.) but before he left the induction site to begin training at his training site the following morning. Thus there remained only a few hours at the end of the second day of induction during which interviewing could be done; to have interviewed men earlier would have meant interviewing many men who would not subsequently have been accepted into the training program. Since the number of interviewers present at the induction site on the second day was fixed, but the number of "accepted" trainees who met the sampling criteria described above could vary considerably, there were frequently more accepted inductees to be interviewed than there were interviewing hours available. When this happened, a Survey Research Center staff member randomly selected the men to be interviewed.

Each of the 23 direct hire inductees was interviewed during his initial day of screening and paper-work at the personnel office in one of the six company plants. At the time of their induction interviews, none of the direct hire inductees had yet been assigned to a job.

The data indicated that the trainee inductees did not differ from the direct hire inductees on any of the study's 19 measures of motivation, beliefs and attitudes. These measures are listed in Appendix A under the headings of Racial Beliefs and Attitudes, Motivational Variables, and Other Beliefs and Attitudes.

The most striking, albeit trivial, difference between the trainee inductees and direct hire inductees was with regard to the source which had referred them to the company. Each of the trainee

inductees and direct hire inductees was asked how he had been referred to the company, and the sources of referral of the two groups are presented in Table 38. Nearly all of the direct hires entering the company either came spontaneously to the company's personnel offices or came in response to a suggestion from a friend or relative already working in the company. Few trainees came into the company via these routes. The trainees were more likely to have been recruited with the cooperation of the State Employment Service and community action centers in the neighborhoods where potential trainees lived. It is interesting to note that while half of the trainees came from community action groups and the State Employment Service none of the direct hires had been referred by these two sources. There are three possible explanations for this. First, the company's personnel offices may not at the time have been hiring any hard core unemployed men sent to them by these agencies. Second, the agencies may have been indiscriminately sending all hard core unemployed men directly to the training offices rather than the personnel offices--regardless of how well prepared for jobs the men may have been. Third, and most plausibly, the trainee inductee interviews may have been conducted at a time when community action centers and the State Employment Service were sending many men <u>both</u> to the training offices and the personnel offices. The direct hire inductee interviews were conducted several weeks after the trainee induction interviews. At this time the community action centers and the State Employment Service may have been sending very few men to <u>either</u> the company's training offices or its personnel offices; hence very few of the direct hire inductees interviewed would have been referred by these sources.

TABLE 38

COMPARISON BETWEEN TRAINEE INDUCTEES AND DIRECT HIRE INDUCTEES IN TERMS OF HOW THEY HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE COMPANY (Q85)

Source of referral	Percentage of trainee inductees referred by source (N=90)	Percentage of direct hire inductees referred by source (N=23)	t
Community action centers	33%	0%	3.21**
State Employment Service	21	0	2.41*
A friend or relative who worked worked at the company	16	61	4.44**
A friend or relative who did not work at the company	10	4	0.92
News media	3	4	0.25
Went spontaneously to personnel offices without referral	1	30	4.90**
Other	20	0	2.34*

Note:--The figures in this table are quite time-bound. It is possible that the sources from which men were recruited for the training program or company jobs shifted considerably throughout the history of the training program. This table represents the referral situation only in those brief time periods when inductee data were being collected in the present study. At other times the referral picture may have been quite different.

[a]Percentages can add to more than 100% since inductees could mention more than one source of referral. As a result, separate t-tests of differences between proportions were employed rather than an overall chi-square.

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

Comparisons between the samples of inductees further indicated that the trainee inductees were more optimistic than the direct hire inductees about their future company jobs. The trainee inductees were significantly more likely to feel: that their chances of getting ahead in the company were good ($\underline{t} = 2.01$; $\underline{p} < .05$; Q338), that the kind of work they would be doing would be good ($\underline{t} = 2.35$; $\underline{p} < .05$; Q339); that they would be well treated by those over them ($\underline{t} = 2.06$; $\underline{p} < .05$; Q102); and that it would be easy to get their job assignments changed if they did not like them ($\underline{t} = 2.63$; $\underline{p} < .01$; Q399).

That the trainee inductees were more optimistic than the direct hire inductees about their futures in the company probably reflects ephemeral hopes triggered by what the trainees had at the time of their induction been led to expect rather than a long-established propensity of the trainee inductees to be more optimistic about jobs or the world in general. The mass media, the State Employment Service, and the training staff may each have contributed to this initial optimism. Institutional propaganda concerning the benefits that disadvantaged workers would reap from entering job training programs was plentiful at the time of the study, and local television stations were treating job training programs in the city as a series of unqualified success stories. The State Employment Agency, according to one company representative, was also promising prospective trainees more than the company's program could realistically offer. On visits to the training induction sites the investigators also heard the training staff make to the trainees what often sounded like overly optimistic statements about the opportunities for advancement and the types of jobs that completion of training

would make available. For example, one advisor told a prospective trainee that "one-third of all the foreman positions are going to be opened up and filled within the next two years, and we've been promised those jobs for blacks." Although some other members of the training staff encouraged similarly optimistic expectations, they were more careful to balance their statements with warnings that it would not be easy to advance and that the trainees would need to exhibit both patience and "proper" behavior. But even such attempts to tone down the anticipation of an easy road to quick promotions and a good job may not have removed the effects of the optimism induced by vague promises of a "good deal." On the other hand, at the plant personnel offices where the direct hires were inducted into the company, little was done to inspire great hopes among inductees. It may therefore be tentatively concluded that the greater optimism of the trainees at the time of their joining the company was a short-term phenomenon and that trainees would be disabused of these artificially high expectations as time wore on. Data presented below will further substantiate this conclusion.

Detectable differences between the trainee and direct hire subpopulations were therefore confined to five of the measures employed in the study. Although the number of observed differences was in excess of that which might have been observed by chance at the .05 probability level, the observed differences do not appear very important. One difference, source of referral, appears to have been a matter of historical accident, and there was no further indication in the data that men who were referred by different sources were in any way different kinds of men. The remaining four observed differences, those involving the

higher optimism of the trainee inductees, can tentatively be regarded as ephemeral differences attributable to the "hard sell" of the training program directed at the trainees. Most importantly, the trainees did not differ from the direct hires on any of the background or personality measures employed in the study. In the subsequent comparisons between placed trainees and direct hire stays it may therefore be safely concluded that any observed differences cannot be attributed to the two groups having been drawn from different populations.

Comparing Placed Trainees and Direct Hire Stays

Against this backdrop of initial similarity, differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays in their reactions to their jobs, attitudes, work-relevant values, and other social-psychological variables can tentatively be interpreted as effects of training. The tentativeness of such an interpretation is due to the possibility that there has been systematically different attrition in the samples of trainees and direct hires. A difference between placed trainees and direct hire stays may result from systematic differences between stays and terminees. Attributing differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays to the effects of the training program is therefore suspect on any measure which was shown in Sections 3 or 4 to differentiate stays from terminees.[1] Wherever this is the case, the sample attrition argument

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[1]Suppose, for example, that, as inductees, the trainees did not differ from the direct hires on a particular measure. Suppose further that those direct hires who scored "high" on the measure were more likely to terminate than those who scored "low" on the measure but that there was no systematic difference between trainee stays and trainee

will be invoked to provide a plausible alternative explanation of observed differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays.

An additional source of data on the effects of the training program is the amount of change detected by measures of the same variables administered to the same trainee at two different times. Since all 22 placed trainees who were interviewed while working on their jobs had already been interviewed as trainee stays, measures of characteristics that could have been changed by training were repeated in their second interviews. This readministration of the same questions provided the opportunity to assess changes directly on the same trainees. Additional data from repeated measures were also available from 18 trainees who were initially interviewed as inductees and later reinterviewed as trainee stays. If on a given measure the placed trainees differed from the direct hire stays, the argument that training had effected a change in the trainees would be strengthened if the data based on repeated measures showed a corresponding change. At the same time, the argument that the observed difference between placed trainees and direct hire stays was attributable to sample attrition would be weakened.

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terminees on the measure. This combination of circumstances would result in the direct hire stays having a lower score on the measure than the placed trainees. The observed difference would be attributable to attrition among the high-scoring direct hires, rather than to the effect of training upon the trainees. Moreover, if any measure differentiated trainee stays from trainee terminees but did not differentiate direct hire stays from direct hire terminees, an observed difference between placed trainees and direct hire stays could be attributed to attrition among the trainees.

Effects of Training Upon Trainees

Knowledge of Company Jobs

The company customarily referred to its training program as a "pre-employment" training program rather than a "job" training program, and its choice of this term was singularly apt, since the trainees were prepared for the general role of entry-level employees in the company rather than for specific company jobs. The program's relative de-emphasis of skill training for specific jobs was only in part a result of the difficulties faced by the program staff in securing sufficient technical personnel and equipment and of the difficulties that would have been encountered with the union had the trainees engaged in productive labor during training. More importantly, there was no way for the training staff to guarantee that once a man had been trained for a specific job he would be assigned to that job. There was a large variety of entry-level jobs available from time to time in the company, and once a job opening became available, it had to be filled immediately. The training staff had insufficient power in the company to keep a job open for a few weeks while they prepared a new recruit to fill the job. Furthermore, as was discussed in Section 3, entry level jobs frequently entailed new men being used as replacement personnel, a situation which even further reduced the predictability of the skill demands of a placed trainee's company job. To have provided a trainee with a particular set of skills on the gamble that a job appropriate to these skills would be open at the completion of his training would have been cruel to the trainee had such a job failed to materialize and had the trainee been assigned to another job for which he was not prepared.

The training program was therefore largely confined to teaching materials that would be relevant to any entry-level company job, under the assumption that the trainee would be able to pick up more specific skills during his early days on his job. Accordingly, training program emphasized orienting the trainees toward company rules (e.g., those concerning absenteeism, tardiness, and other forms of misconduct) and procedures (e.g., how to understand the deductions from one's paycheck); demonstrations of hand tools in general use in the plants (e.g., the mystifying variety of screw drivers the trainee might have to use); providing talks on safety precautions; and, through both talks and tours, familiarizing trainees with the physical layout of the plant and the general manufacturing process.

As a result of these and other activities did the trainees who completed the training program seem any better oriented toward their jobs than did the direct hires who had not gone through the training program? Table 39 contrasts the placed trainees and the direct hire stays in terms of two questions pertinent to how well oriented they felt toward their work environments: "How often are you told to do something when you don't know how to do it?" "How good an idea do you have of how your work fits in with what other factory workers do at this plant?" The table indicates that the placed trainees did not surpass the direct hire stays in their general familiarity with their jobs as measured by these two questions. The only statistically significant difference in the table is contrary to what might be expected (the placed trainees more frequently reporting that they were sometimes told to do something when they did not know how to do it), and this can be attributed to

TABLE 39

COMPARISON BETWEEN PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRE STAYS IN TERMS OF THEIR GENERAL FAMILIARITY WITH THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENTS

	Placed trainees	Direct hire stays	t
Percentage reporting that they were sometimes told to do some thing when they did not know how to do it (Q352)	55% (N=20)	28% (N=35)	2.59*
Percentage reporting that they had a very good idea of how their work fit in with that of others (Q365)	32% (N=22)	46% (N=35)	1.28

*$p < .05$

attrition among the direct hires of those who were told to do things they did not know how to do (Table 10).

Why did the placed trainees, who had taken plant tours and had been exposed to other plant orientation activities that were part of the training program, not surpass the direct hire stays on either of the questions in Table 39? One explanation is that many trainees may only have received tours of plants <u>other than</u> those at which they were subsequently placed and that the orientation information they received was not readily generalizable to the latter plants. A more reasonable explanation lies in the fact that even the direct hires received at least <u>some</u> orientation to the plants to which they were assigned. A brief orientation of a day or so may have been sufficient to elevate the direct hires' familiarity with their plants to a level comparable to that created by the presumably more extensive orientation activities of

the training program. Thus, the orientation activities of the training program may have had early diminishing returns, rendering more than a few days of such activities unnecessary.

Workers' self-reports of their levels of competence with regard to more specific job-related skills are shown in Table 40. The acquisition of each of these skills was emphasized in the training program, although the training units varied somewhat in the relative emphasis placed on each. By contrasting placed trainees and direct hire stays in terms of the percentage of each group who felt they had enough of each skill for their current jobs, the table indicates that there were no significant differences between the two groups.

TABLE 40

COMPARISON BETWEEN PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRE STAYS IN TERMS OF THEIR SELF-REPORTS OF THEIR SKILL LEVEL IN THREE AREAS

	Placed trainees	Direct hire stays	t
Percentage reporting that they "knew enough"about safety and use of machines or tools (I22)	45% (N=22)	43% (N=35)	0.15
Percentage reporting that they "knew well enough" how to read, write, and do arithmetic (I23)	59% (N=22)	70% (N=33)	0.84
Percentage reporting that they "knew enough" about miscellaneous adjustment skills (e.g., getting along with others, keeping cool in emergencies)(I24)	54% (N=22)	63% (N=35)	0.67

It should not be hastily concluded from Tables 39 and 40 that the training program was unsuccessful in orienting trainees to their work environments and in providing them with general skills suitable to their entry-level jobs. The validity of self-report data varies considerably according to type of material being reported, and the interpretation of such data requires particular caution when a person is estimating the level of his skill in an area in which he is currently being or has just been trained. A training experience may sometimes raise a person's skill level while simultaneously making him acutely conscious of how much further he has to go to achieve his desired level of proficiency. The placed trainees might in fact have achieved a considerable increase in knowledge with regard to all the areas listed in Tables 39 and 40; but this increase might have been offset by a heightened awareness of their inadequacies in some or all of the areas. The net effect could have generated self-reports of their skill levels which did not differ from those of the direct hire stays who had not experienced training.

Work-related Values and Attitudes

The training program placed major (and according to some advisors and monitors, a paramount) emphasis on modifying trainees' attitudes both toward their work and themselves. When talking with the investigators, the staff of the training program often referred to a trainee as not having the "right attitude" toward his work. Coming from a foreman, this phrase could simply mean that a worker was either not obsequious enough or did not take his job quite so seriously as did the foreman or some other workers. At other times the phrase was used

simply as a euphemism for saying that a man was disagreeable or obstreperous. Even the staff of the training program at times made euphemistic use of the phrase in describing a trainee with whom, for one reason or another, they found it difficult to deal. More commonly, the trainee who was viewed by the training staff as having the "right attitude" toward his training and his future work in the company was one who took his training and his future job seriously and who was willing to subordinate some of the more immediately attractive distractions of his personal life to the pursuit of this job. In other words, the "right attitude" appeared to involve behaving in accordance with a middle-class view of work.

Since most of the training staff were themselves middle-class, it is not unexpected that some of the staff should have attempted to impart, either consciously or unconsciously, some of their own values to the trainees. The staff generally attempted to impress trainees with the fact that there were certain behaviors that in the white world of the company would be frowned upon or worse since the behaviors were not in accordance with the white, middle-class view of work. While some of the staff attempted to effect in trainees values or attitudinal changes that were in accordance with this view, others exhorted trainees to show at least some behavioral compliance with these values regardless of how the trainees really felt about what they were doing--in short, to fake whitey's game.

Regardless of whether they attempted to foster either attitudinal change or simply behavioral compliance, the staff apparently effected some measurable changes in the work-related values and

attitudes of the trainees. Although these changes were evident only on two of the several value and attitudinal measures employed in the study, they were quite consistent with the goals of the training program.

A shift toward middle-class values concerning work was observed with regard to the importance which the trainee attached to work for work's sake alone. An index (I28) of this importance was composed of three questions. The trainee was scored as attaching a high importance to work for its own sake if he agreed with the statement that "I need a job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world," and "It's more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good friends," and if he disagreed with the statement that "My only purpose in working is to make money." On this three-item index there was a significant (t = 1.96; df = 17; $p < .05$, one-tailed test) shift among trainees in the direction of attaching a greater value to work after their training experiences.

Nothing was stressed more to trainees than the urgency of developing a respect for and obedience to the time schedules imposed on their lives by their training and their future company jobs. Thus, it is not surprising that the repeated-measures data showed that during training there was a significant (t = 1.84; df = 17; $p < .05$, one-tailed test) decline in the amount of trainees' agreement with the interview question asking whether they felt that "I like to let things happen in their own way rather than to schedule them" (Q138). During the time of their training experience the trainees evidently developed a more middle-class attitude toward time schedules.

While perhaps increasing trainees' respects for time schedules, the training program experience had less welcome effects upon trainees' feelings about the particular hours they were required to work on their jobs. All the placed trainees and direct hire stays working on the first shift reported that their shift hours were pretty good. Among the men assigned to the second shift, however, significantly ($t = 3.35$; $p < .01$) more direct hire stays than placed trainees reported that their shift hours were "pretty good." Seventy-six percent of the second shift direct hires said their hours were "pretty good," while only 31 percent of the second shift placed trainees were so favorable toward their shift assignment.

What made assignment to the second shift more distasteful to the placed trainees than to the direct hire stays? The training sessions were held at times that coincided within an hour or so of the first shift in the plants. A man who successfully completed training had to be able to demonstrate to his advisor that he was capable of arranging his life so that he would be able to get to work early in the morning. Having successfully made such arrangements, many trainees were then assigned to a shift that began eight hours later than the hours to which they had just become accustomed. All the personal habits and arrangements that had been developed over the several weeks of training had to be altered overnight. For these men, job placement involved simultaneous changes in shift assignments complete with all the difficult readjustments that such changes generally entail. Some trainees therefore experienced a conspicuous discontinuity between the behaviors encouraged in the training class (i.e., arranging one's life so that

one could get up before day-break) and the behaviors demanded by the job (i.e., going to work in the middle of the afternoon). It would have been more understandable either to have placed men on a shift where the hours most closely approximated those of the training class or to have held some training classes later in the day. But given the low level of control by the training staff over the placement of trainees, such a solution was difficult. Since the training staff could not know in advance what shift a trainee would be assigned to when he began working, there was no way to tell what would be the best training hours for him.

Sense of Personal Efficacy

In addition to attempting to alter trainee's attitudes toward their work, the training program also attempted to effect changes in the trainee's attitudes toward themselves. These efforts were variously described by the training staff as efforts to "increase the trainees' pride in themselves," "increase their feelings of personal worth," "bolster their confidence in themselves," and "give them the feeling that they can be successful in accomplishing what they want to." Although differing in terms of the self-relevant attitudes they expected to be affected by the training, the advisors and monitors seemed to share the common feeling that increasing a trainee's sense of personal efficacy in dealing with his environment would provide him with important psychological armor when he began working on a company job. In this effort the training staff shared with Gurin[1] the belief that the psychological issues which are central among the disadvantaged are "those which are the major determinants of an individual's

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Gurin, op. cit.

expectancies of failure and success--competence, efficacy, and powerlessness, feelings about one's ability to affect one's life."

Table 41 indicates the direction and degree of change observed in trainees in their response to four questions assessing their feelings of personal efficacy. In measuring efficacy it is useful to distinguish between effectiveness in controlling people from effectiveness in mastering events or activities. Controlling people impinges upon the concept of social power, while mastering events or activities seems more closely related to the concept of achievement. Hence the four questions in Table 41 are divided into two sets according to whether their principal referent was one of power or achievement.

TABLE 41

CHANGE IN PERSONAL EFFICACY SCORES OF TRAINEES

Efficacy question	Direction of change during training	df	t
Power:			
I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do (Q145)	Increased efficacy	17	1.72
People often have power over me (Q148)[a]	Decreased efficacy	17	1.58
Achievement:			
I usually do a good job at whatever I do (Q144)	Increased efficacy	21	3.13**
I often fail in things I try to do (Q150)[a]	Increased efficacy	21	2.41*

[a]These two questions were scored in a direction opposite to that of the other two questions.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Both the efficacy questions concerning achievement showed a statistically significant increase in trainees' sense of personal efficacy. This difference may reflect either the success of the training staff in instilling such feelings in trainees or may have resulted from the significant ego-boosting provided by the trainees' having successfully completed the training program and their having secured and held company jobs for a few weeks. On the two personal efficacy questions concerning power, there was no significant change among trainees. On one of the two questions there was an increase in sense of power of borderline statistical significance (the "I usually talk my friends . . ." question). On the other question there was almost an equally large <u>decrease</u> in trainees' sense of efficacy.

Although the program did not affect trainees' sense of efficacy in controlling others, it did seem to heighten their desire to avoid jobs on which others controlled them. During training the placed trainees exhibited a significant increase ($\underline{t} = 2.02$; $\underline{p} < .05$; one-tailed test) in their preferences for having a job which offered them considerable autonomy (I17). This change may, however, have been counter-productive, since the jobs on which they would be placed after completing training were characterized both by a high level of control by their foremen and by few opportunities for workers to make decisions independently. It is therefore not surprising that the placed trainees differed significantly ($\underline{t} = 2.94$; $\underline{p} < .01$) from the direct hire stays in feeling that the quality of supervision they received from their foremen was poorer (I17). In addition, significantly ($\underline{t} = 2.81$; $\underline{p} < .01$) more placed trainees than direct hires reported that on their

jobs they were told to do things that they did not want to do.[1] A discontinuity therefore appeared to exist between the desires which the training staff instilled in the trainees and the opportunities which the company's foremen provided for the attainment of those desires.

The Benefits of the Training Program --A Hindsight View

The conclusions drawn in the preceding pages of this section concerning the impact of the training program upon trainees were limited by the fact that effects of the training program were measured only in terms of what should have happened given the explicit or implicit goals of the training program. But the criterion measures based upon these goals may have been unreliable or inappropriate or may have failed to detect some real, but unintended, changes that occurred in the trainees. Alternatively, it was possible to assess the impact of the program not by *a priori* standards, but the standards of the men who experienced the complete program. For this purpose, the sample of placed trainees were a unique source of information about the training program. Not only had they successfully completed the program, but they were also successful in keeping their post-training jobs for six weeks or more.[2] Their

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[1]Since the Quality of Supervision Index was associated with direct hire turnover, sample attrition might also explain this difference between placed trainees and direct hire stays. The attrition argument would not, however, be applicable to the difference between the two samples on the "told to do things that they did not want to do" question because this question was not associated with turnover among the direct hires.

[2]Remaining on the job for six weeks was obviously not a criterion used in sampling placed trainees, since all placed trainees were interviewed before their six weeks on the job had elapsed. It was only by chance that the 22 placed trainees interviewed happened subsequently to keep their jobs for six weeks or more.

experiences on their company jobs had provided them with the opportunity to put into practice what they had already learned in the training program. They were therefore in an excellent position from which to offer a hindsight view of the usefulness of their training experience.

When asked whether their training program experiences had helped them on their jobs they gave generally, but not overwhelmingly, favorable reports of the program's usefulness to them. While about two-thirds felt that their training had helped them to do better on their jobs, the remaining third felt that their training had not made any difference (Q322).

The aspects of the training program which the placed trainees felt had been most helpful to them on their jobs are described in Table 42. The basic education and "hands on" skill training, described in the preceding section, were the aspects of the program most salient to its designers. These activities were the most highly structured of the program activities and consumed much of the time each trainee spent in the program. Yet, according to Table 42 few of the placed trainees cited these aspects of the program as helping them to do better on their company jobs. Instead, they emphasized the less highly structured features of the program which involved the acquisition of appropriate work attitudes and attempted to prepare them for generalized work roles rather than for specific jobs. The "teaching" of self-discipline, interpersonal skills, and work related values and attitudes were the elements of the program most often cited as helpful.

Table 42 is somewhat discrepant from the data in Appendix C which indicates what trainees <u>prior to completing the training program</u>

liked best about the training program. Among all aspects of the training program, trainees reported liking best the group discussions between trainees and staff (Appendix C); this is not inconsistent with Table 42, since such discussions were the major media through which the training program tried to modify trainees' attitudes and help them adopt appropriate work-role behaviors. Although while in training the men were highly attracted to the academic and the "hands on" training they were receiving (Appendix C), neither of these two aspects of the training program was viewed as outstandingly helpful by the trainees once they had begun to work.(Table 42). What trainees liked best about the program before they began to work on company jobs was therefore not necessarily what they found most helpful to them on their jobs.

TABLE 42

PERCENTAGE OF PLACED TRAINEES WHO MENTIONED EACH OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS IN WHICH THE TRAINING PROGRAM HELPED THEM TO DO BETTER ON THEIR POST-TRAINING JOBS (Q322)

Ways in which training helped	Percentage (N=22)[a]
Taught self discipline	27%
Taught appropriate attitudes and expectations	27
Taught interpersonal skills	18
Provided "hands on" training	9
Provided academic training (basic education)	9
Helped trainee in a personal way not related directly to the job	9
Did not help in any way	36

[a]Percentages add to more than 100% since placed trainees could give more than one answer to the question. Response categories mentioned by fewer than 5 percent of placed trainees are not shown.

This discrepancy suggests that considerable caution should be exercised in designing training programs on the basis of studies of the attitudes of trainees toward their training programs where such studies are based exclusively upon interviews with people who have not yet had time to apply what they have learned in training to their post-training jobs. For example, the academic training and basic education component of the training program was viewed as very important by the program's designers, consumed half of every training day, and was cited by many trainees as something they liked "best" about their training program. Yet few of the same men later regarded the academic training they had received in the program as very useful to them on their jobs. This should not be interpreted as an indictment of basic education per se, nor as a devaluation of the importance of literacy for everyone. Although a good basic education may be essential for upward job mobility and may be a useful part of long term programs of job upgrading, the usefulness of the academic training provided by the training program studied did not appear to be commensurate with the time and effort being invested in it.

But trainee's views of the usefulness of their training experiences have their own limitations. Having voluntarily invested several weeks of his life for eight hours a day in the training program, the placed trainee might have been unwilling to admit that his investment had not paid off as well as he had anticipated. He might therefore have felt compelled to report at least some benefit of his training program experiences that justified his voluntary investment. Such a hindsight favorable evaluation is especially easy where the goals of training are

somewhat obscure to the trainee. Where a person undertakes to learn a foreign language in a short period of time, the bench-marks of success are conspicuous; either one achieves certain levels of proficiency after so many weeks or one does not. Where the goal is one of preparing a person for a job, however, the bench-marks are somewhat harder to identify. They are all the harder to identify where the trainers adopt as intermediate goals such abstractions as elevating the self-confidence or sense of efficacy of trainees--concepts scarcely understood by many trainees. Under such ambiguous conditions and given their time investment in the training program, the trainees could readily be expected to attribute some of their success on their jobs to their training experiences, regardless of whether the training had in fact benefited them or not.

Summary

Although more changes in the values and attitudes of trainees were observed than would have arisen by chance, these changes were far less extensive than might have been anticipated on the basis of the training program's ambitious goals. In most cases the direction of observed changes were in accordance with the goals of the program's designers. Thus, trainees increased their sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement matters, the importance which they attached to work for its own sake and their willingness to orient their activities around time schedules. One of the observed changes may, however, have had its dysfunctional aspects. Although trainees' desires for jobs which provided them considerable autonomy were heightened during training, at the end of training they were assigned to jobs on which their

foremen provided them with little autonomy. As a possible result of this, graduates of the training program had considerably more unfavorable attitudes toward their foremen than did men who had not gone through the training program.

The data were inconclusive as to the extent to which the observed differences were directly attributable solely to the effects of the training program experience. On each of the measures where change was detected, the trainees did not differ from the direct hires at the time of their induction into the company. Nor at a later time did the placed trainees differ from the direct hire stays. A plausible explanation of this is that for each of the changes observed in the trainees there were corresponding change among the untrained direct hires. The study's design did not, however, permit the detection of the latter changes, since longitudinal data were not obtained on the direct hires.

Trainee's reactions to their training experiences were mixed. Although one out of three placed trainees felt that their training experiences had not helped them on their company jobs, the majority regarded their training as helpful. But the training activities to which most of the training time was devoted were not the activities which the placed trainees found most useful to them on their company jobs.

6. EFFECTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM UPON TURNOVER

Despite the last section's conclusion that the training program did not appear to have the dramatic effects upon trainees that its designers had hoped and intended, it was still possible that the program achieved its ultimate goal of reducing job turnover through means which the study did not examine or which it did not measure adequately. The program might also have succeeded in reducing turnover without affecting any changes whatsoever in trainees. This could have occurred had the program concentrated upon screening out the less job-qualified trainees rather than attempting to train them. The program could thereby have restricted its graduates to only those men whom the staff felt with some certainty would be successful on their subsequent jobs, leaving more marginally qualified men to fall by the wayside. Had this happened, the program would have been superficially successful in reducing turnover, but would hardly have deserved to be called a "training" program. It would instead have been nothing more than a massive, government-subsidized selection apparatus. Some indication that such systematic screening was <u>not</u> being carried out in the training program studied may be inferred from data in Section 4 which indicated that very few characteristics of trainees were systematically associated with turnover from the program.

Overall, how successful was the company's training program in reducing turnover? Did a disadvantaged worker entering the company's training program have any better chance of staying in the company than a comparable worker who did not go into the training program but instead went directly onto the job?

In order to answer this question, the following pages contrast the turnover rates of two samples selected from the study's population of disadvantaged men. The trainee tracking sample were 90 men selected randomly from among those entering the training program. The direct hire tracking sample were 232 men going directly onto the job. The sampling of the direct hire tracking sample was stratified so as to match the trainee tracking sample in terms of the men's ages and educational levels and the plants to which they were assigned. Within these strata selection of direct hires was random.[1]

For each man in the two tracking samples statistical information was obtained from company records concerning his subsequent "success" in the company. Two somewhat different success criteria were employed: whether a man remained in the company for six weeks and whether a man remained on the job for six weeks. Among direct hires the two criteria were identical; among trainees, the two differed.

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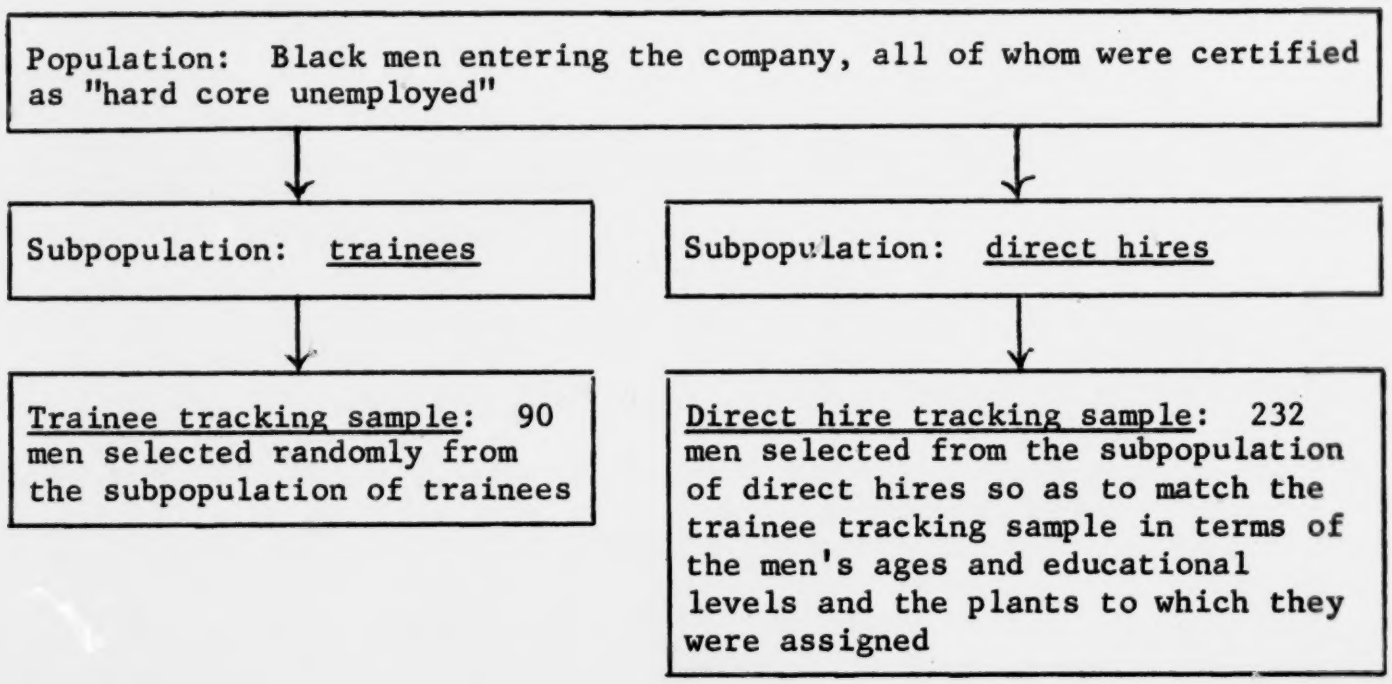
[1]The trainee tracking sample was identical to the sample of trainee inductees which was described in Section 5. The direct hire tracking sample was identical to the set of direct hire "listings" discussed in Section 3. Every direct hire interviewed in the study as an inductee, terminee, or stay was also a member of the direct hire tracking sample. Although all trainee inductees were members of the trainee tracking sample, many trainee stays, trainee terminees, and placed trainees were not members of the trainee tracking sample.

FIGURE 4

SAMPLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF TRAINING UPON TURNOVER


Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"
Subpopulation: trainees
Subpopulation: direct hires
Trainee tracking sample: 90 men selected randomly from the subpopulation of trainees
Direct hire tracking sample: 232 men selected from the subpopulation of direct hires so as to match the trainee tracking sample in terms of the men's ages and educational levels and the plants to which they were assigned

Two men graduating from the training program who remained on the job for the same length of time need not necessarily have remained in the company for the same length of time. This would have been the case had all trainees been graduated from the training program after the same number of weeks in the program. On paper the training program was six weeks long. In practice, however, a man could be graduated from the training program at any time he was judged to be "job ready" by his advisor and monitor. His job readiness was not the only factor determining when he would be graduated. Although judged job ready, his placement could be delayed simply because there were at the time no suitable job openings; in such a case he would be kept in the program until an opening became available. On the other hand, he could also be placed somewhat prior to his being judged job ready. This occurred when a man

was nearing the time of completing the program and a promising job opening suddenly became available. Rather than keep a man in the program until a week or two later, when the opening might no longer exist, the training program staff would sometimes place the man right away. Moreover, when labor shortages occurred in the company the training staff were encouraged to relax their standards of "job readiness" and place as many men as possible in the existing openings.

TABLE 43

WEEKS DURING WHICH PLACED TRAINEES FROM TRAINEE TRACKING SAMPLE WERE GRADUATED FROM TRAINING AND PLACED ON JOB

Week	Percentage of placed trainees from tracking sample[a] (N=63)	Cumulative percentage of placed trainees from tracking sample[a] (N=63)
First week	0%	0%
Second week	12	12
Third week	13	25
Fourth week	29	54
Fifth week	32	86
Sixth week	8	94
Seventh week or later	6	100

[a]Excludes trainees from the tracking sample who terminated from the training program.

As a result of these factors it is not surprising that only six percent of the placed trainees from the tracking sample received a full six weeks of training (Table 43). In fact, of those trainees who were placed over half had already been placed by the end of the fourth week of the program, and 12 percent of them had been placed by the end of their second week in the program. It is therefore incorrect to view

the training program as a six week one, since the great majority of the trainees received less than six weeks of training.[1]

Table 44 provides a straightforward answer to the question: Did entering the training program rather than going directly onto a company job significantly increase a man's chances of remaining in the company?

TABLE 44

COMPARISON OF TRACKING SAMPLE TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRES IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP TERMINATING FROM THE COMPANY WITHIN FIRST SIX WEEKS AFTER INDUCTION INTO THE COMPANY

Termination rate of trainee tracking sample (N=89)	Termination rate of direct hire tracking sample (N=232)
37%	42%

$t = 0.82$; n.s.

To answer this question the table contrasts the trainee tracking sample and the direct hire tracking sample in terms of their rates of termination within their first six weeks in the company. There was no significant association between whether a man was in the training program or not and whether he remained in the company for six weeks. Within their first six weeks in the company, the termination rate of those men

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[1]A peripheral question raised by this is whether the length of time a trainee spent in the program affected his chances for staying on the job. Were, for example, those men who were placed after only two weeks of training any less successful than those who received the full six-week program? To answer this question, a correlation was computed between the number of weeks the placed trainees from the tracking sample remained in the training program and the number of weeks (up to seven weeks) they retained their subsequent company jobs. The product-moment correlation between the two numbers of weeks was a nonsignificant .08.

coming directly off-the-street and going directly onto dangerous and demanding company jobs was no different than the termination rate of men whose first six weeks were spent for the most part in the comparatively sheltered environment of the training program.

Whether a man was a trainee or a direct hire was, on the other hand, related to how soon he terminated from the company. This is demonstrated graphically in Figure 5. The dotted line in Figure 5 is based on the 97 men from the direct hire tracking sample who terminated within six weeks. The six points on the line indicate the percentage of this group of direct hire terminees who terminated from the training program in each of six subsequent weeks after their time of induction. The solid line in the figure presents comparable week-by-week termination data for the 22 trainees from the trainee tracking sample who terminated from the training program within six weeks.[1]

Direct hire termination was very high during the first week, steadily dropped until the fourth week, and then leveled off at about five percent. In contrast, the trainee termination rate started out lower than that of the direct hires, reached a high point during the third week of training, and then dropped off again. The biggest difference between the two rates of termination occurred during the first week. The trainees therefore appeared to be terminating from the training program later than the direct hires were terminating from their jobs.

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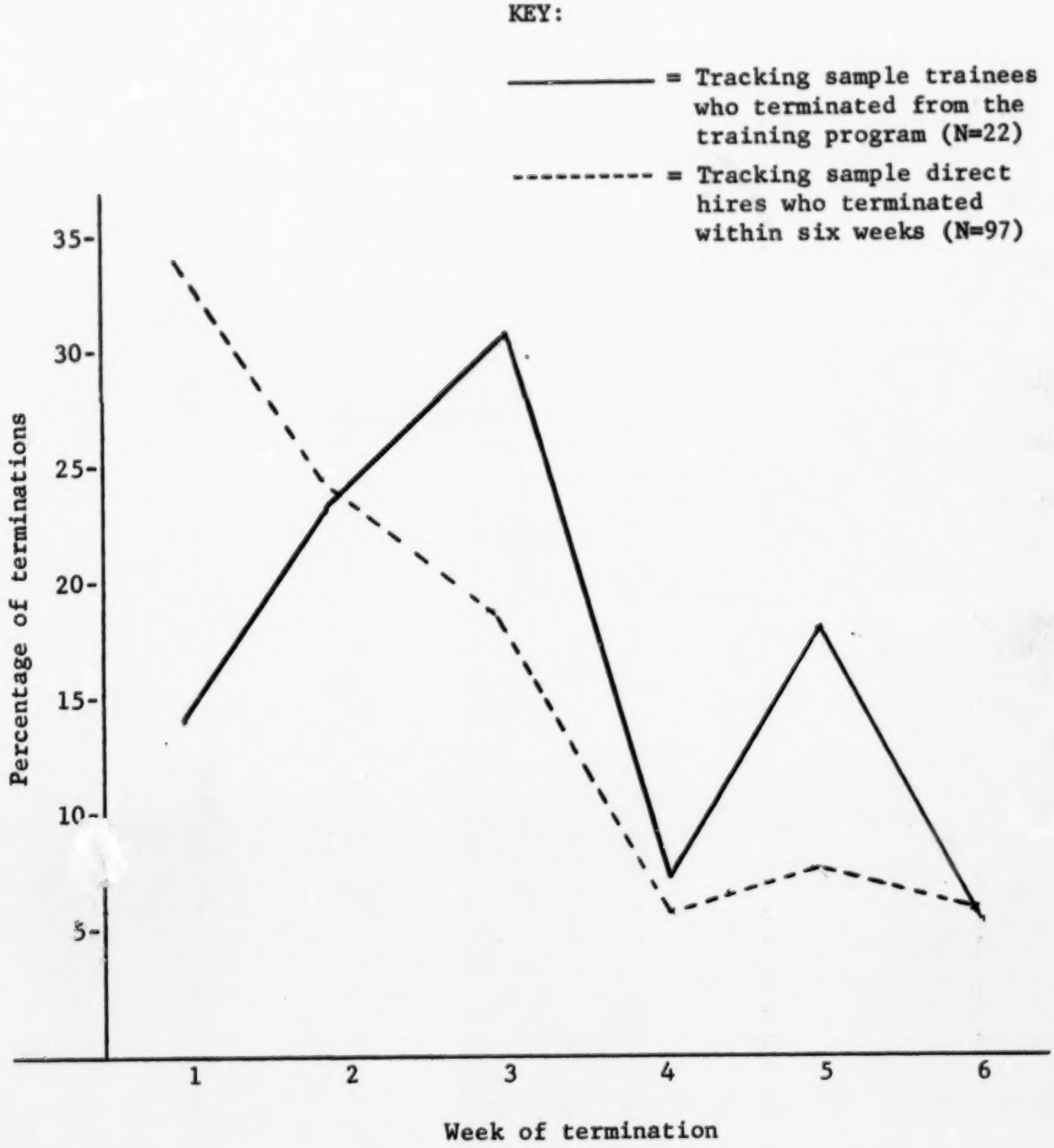
[1]Eleven trainees who were classified in Table 44 as terminees from the company within the first six weeks are excluded from this figure. These eleven completed the training program, were placed on jobs, and then terminated from their jobs--all within six weeks after first entering the training program.

FIGURE 5

RELATION OF TRAINING TO WEEK OF TERMINATION FROM THE COMPANY



This difference corroborates two observations made earlier in this report: that while the company's foremen, who controlled much of the job situation of direct hires, were quick to fire new employees, the training staff were quite tolerant of a trainee's shortcomings and were more willing to give a trainee further opportunities to prove himself. In spite of this tolerance, the training staff could not permit an obviously unqualified man simply to coast through the program until he was finally placed on a job. Putting unqualified men onto company jobs would hardly have benefited the company, and the training staff were, after all, company employees. In addition, the staff were not interested simply in shunting men through the training program in dazzling numbers that would look impressive in the company's reports to the public, the government, and the National Alliance of Businessmen. Instead, they were sincerely interested in helping a trainee achieve a level of competence that would guarantee his survival on a company job. Discharging a trainee was at times simply a matter of doing to the man in training what the advisor thought might ultimately happen to the man on his subsequent job were he to be graduated from the training program. In doing so, the advisor was taking upon himself the burden of performing what he thought was the inevitable. Finally, in order to justify its continued survival in the company, the training program had to demonstrate to company management that it could indeed produce men who were more qualified and more likely to retain their jobs than men who came off-the-street and went directly onto the job; graduating unqualified men would therefore undermine the usefulness of the program in the company's view. As a result of these conditions, the program staff

could be lenient toward a trainee only up to a point. The critical choice point occurred when it became apparent to the staff that a man was unqualified for a job but was nearing completion of the training program and subsequent job placement. This point occurred just prior to the fourth week of training, the week when trainees began to be placed in large numbers.

The most important data in this section are presented in Table 45, which indicates how effective the training program was in producing graduates who would successfully retain jobs. Although the comparison made between trainees and direct hires in Table 44 showed that being in the training program did not increase a man's chances of staying in the company, the comparison was muddied by the variable situation of the trainees whose terminations were reported in the table. For some trainees, being in the company for six weeks was equivalent to being in the training program throughout the six weeks. For most, due to early job placement the first six weeks were a combination of activities--some weeks in training and later weeks on the job.

A more accurate assessment of the impact of the training program can be obtained if the turnover among direct hires is compared not to turnover among all trainees but only to turnover among those men who had been graduated from the program and had, like the direct hire, been fully exposed to the demands of work. In Table 44 a high rate of turnover by trainees while in training could conceivably make the program look very ineffective in reducing turnover. The possibility remains that those men who did complete the training program were spectacularly successful in keeping company jobs once they were placed.

TABLE 45

COMPARISON TO TRACKING SAMPLE PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRES IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP TERMINATING FROM THE JOB WITHIN FIRST SIX WEEKS AFTER BEGINNING WORK

Termination rate of placed trainees in trainee tracking sample (N=63) [a]	Termination rate of direct hire tracking sample (N=232)
32%	42%

$t = 1.44$; n.s.

[a]Excludes 26 men in the trainee tracking sample who did not complete the training program.

Accordingly, Table 45 answers the question: Did the men who were graduated from the program and placed on company jobs keep these jobs any longer than a comparable group of men who went directly onto the job without exposure to the training program? Using the job success criterion of remaining on a company job for more than six weeks, Table 45 contrasts the direct hire tracking sample with only those men from the trainee tracking sample who had completed the training program and were placed on jobs. This contrast shows that disadvantaged men who completed training were not significantly more successful in retaining company jobs than were the direct hires who had not been trained.

Even this lack of a significant difference, it might be asserted, could be regarded as a testimonial to the success of the training program. In spite of the evidence presented in Section 5, suppose that at the time of joining the company the trainees were far less well-equipped for their jobs than the direct hires. If this were the case, the

training program could be regarded as successful even if it only brought the trainees up to the level of the direct hires in terms of job retention. But this argument would be valid only if it could be demonstrated that at the time of their induction into the company the trainees were in some way "worse off" or less job-qualified than the direct hires. The data in Section 5 indicated, however, that in terms of the measures employed in the present study the trainee and direct hire subpopulations were equivalent.

Summary

The training program had no detectable effect on the company's retention of its disadvantaged personnel. A worker entering the training program had no better chance of staying in the company and keeping a company job than a comparable worker who did not enter the training program but instead went directly onto the job.

7. CONCLUSION

Summary of the Findings

The study was designed to answer four general questions concerning turnover and job training among disadvantaged workers. These questions, together with a brief and highly oversimplified summary of the data pertinent to each, were as follows:

1. What factors were associated with turnover from the job among newly hired disadvantaged workers?

Turnover among newly hired disadvantaged workers who were placed on company jobs without having gone through the company's vestibule training program was quite high. Forty-two percent of the direct hires in the study's sample terminated from the company within their first six weeks of employment. Turnover among these direct hires was for the most part attributable to the poor working conditions they faced on their company jobs. The working conditions of the direct hires who terminated differed in a number of respects from the working conditions of the direct hires who survived on their jobs for more than six weeks. Those who terminated more often reported that: they would find it hard to get their job assignments changed if they did not like them; they had no consistent job assignments but instead were shifted from work station to work station and treated as replacement personnel; they reported to more than one foreman and were often caught between conflicting demands of their

foremen; they were unclear about their job activities and alienated from the production process; they were assigned to jobs that were boring or required that they work too hard or too fast; they were assigned to disliked shifts; and they were supervised poorly. Although few characteristics of the personalities of the direct hires were associated with turnover, several demographic and background characteristics were associated with high rates of termination: being young; having a spotty job history; being unmarried; not having to pay most of one's household bills; and having a darker complexion.

2. What factors were associated with turnover from the training program among disadvantaged trainees?

Approximately one out of every four trainees in the study's sample did not complete the training program. Most of those who terminated reported that they did so involuntarily, excessive absenteeism and tardiness being the most prevalent reasons for their dismissals. There was generally no association between termination from the training program and either trainees' views of the content of the training program or their perceptions of the characteristics of the advisors and monitors who counseled and taught them. The only characteristic of the training program which was related to turnover was the scheduling of the training sessions. Among the measures of trainees' values and attitudes, only their attitudes toward adjusting their lives to time schedules were associated with turnover. Turnover was particularly high among the young black workers whose complexions were darker and whose racial attitudes were more militant.

3. In what ways were men who successfully completed the training program any different from the disadvantaged men working in the company without any exposure to the training program? Did the training program effect any changes in the trainees?

Training had no discernible effect on trainees' familiarity with the jobs on which they were placed after completion of training; nor did it affect these trainee's self-reports of their levels of various job-relevant skills. The program was possibly more successful in modifying some of the trainees' attitudes, particularly their attitude toward time, the importance which they attached to work for work's sake, and their sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement. Training also may have increased trainees' desires for jobs which provided a high degree of autonomy. Although there was a measurable decrease during training of trainees' estimations of their chances of being promoted in the company, this change was simply a regression from the unrealistically high expectations instilled in the trainees at the onset of training.

4. Did workers who had completed the pre-employment training program have significantly greater success in keeping a company job than comparable workers who did not get into the training program but instead went directly onto the job?

No.

Improving Vestibule Training Programs

Assume for the moment that the company's training program could have been effective in reducing turnover among disadvantaged workers who secured entry-level jobs in the company. Given this assumption (which,

as will be argued later, is highly questionable), what circumstances limited the program's effectiveness and how could these circumstances have been altered? The following pages will describe several characteristics of the program's goals, organization, and administration which may have handicapped the program's efforts to provide vestibule training for the disadvantaged. There are, however, three principal limitations to the information upon which the inferences below are based. First, the information was not obtained from systematic data collection but was obtained instead from the investigators' personal observations of program activities and from both formal and informal interviews with the staff of the program. Second, the information is quite time-bound. Although the conditions described existed when data were being collected in the company, a year has now passed. According to one company representative, the program staff have in the interim profited from their experiences and many of the conditions described below no longer exist. Finally, it is difficult to know to what extent the conditions to be described were unique to the company and to what extent they exist in one form or another in the training programs of other companies. It would be a rare company indeed that could successfully avoid <u>all</u> the difficulties that ensnared the company's training program. From the materials below, as well as from many observations scattered throughout the preceding pages, other companies undertaking vestibule training programs for the disadvantaged will hopefully be able to profit from the experiences of the company studied.

Confusion about Program Goals

The program's training contract with the Federal Government entailed only the comparatively modest goal of providing vestibule training to a number of disadvantaged workers and subsequently placing them on entry level jobs, and program resources were accordingly allocated with this goal in mind. The advisors and monitors, however, had somewhat more ambitious hopes for the training program. Many of them viewed the program as largely a first step in helping blacks, especially disadvantaged blacks, obtain better positions in the company than they had hitherto been able to secure. They viewed the program as an example of "black power in action" and often described it as such to the trainees. With such an ambitious view of the program, they appeared to find it hard to regard the task of preparing men for unpleasant entry-level jobs as an end in itself. "Success" was for many of them defined as having a trainee secure something better than a routine entry-level job on the assembly line. The anecdotal success stories about trainees that they cited generally entailed unusual instances in which a recently graduated trainee was able to secure a job better than that which the vast majority of the trainees could realistically achieve in a short period of time. Likewise, some of the directors of the training program confined their narrations of the program's "success stories" to the histories of program graduates who had somehow advanced quickly beyond typical entry-level positions. The staff seemed less enthused over the more mundane histories of program graduates whose no less considerable personal successes consisted of getting and keeping dull entry-level jobs--even when such men seldom in their lives had been successful in keeping jobs for so long.

The substitution of these more ambitious goals for the more modest contractual obligations of the program inevitably led to frustration and anger among many of the program staff making this substitution. The goals of the program as they saw them differed from the goals as viewed by some of the program's directors--especially those who controlled the program's purse-strings. Consequently, some of the staff felt that their training activities were being thwarted when they could not offer training in specific skills, could not control which jobs the trainees would be placed on, could not over-ride union priorities in securing job assignments for program graduates, and could otherwise not do many of the things they regarded as vital to placing qualified trainees on "better" jobs. Those in charge of the program did little to remedy the situation. While on one hand some of the training staff and the chairman of the company's board of directors described the program in the most ambitious of ways, in day-to-day program administration the program's directors hewed far closer to the program's more modest contractual commitments.

Unrealistic Training Objectives

Several factors limited the amount of training in job-related skills that the program could offer. First, many of the relevant skills involved the use of machines which were constantly in operation on the production line and hence not available for use by trainees. Moreover, a trainee could not work with these machines while they were in use on the line, since this would have amounted to his engaging in productive labor--which was not allowed by the union. Second, there was a shortage

of company personnel who had the required teaching abilities and free time to provide trainees with skill training. Third, the skill requirements of the company's entry-level jobs were not so demanding that they required that those working on them receive extensive skill training. Finally, the training staff had little control over the job to which a program graduate would be assigned. Had the staff known that a particular man would later be assigned to a particular type of work station, the staff could possibly have found some way to instruct him in the fundamentals pertinent to his future work. But the future job assignment of each trainee was unpredictable. It would therefore have been fruitless to train any man in a particular skill because there was slight chance that he would ever get to <u>use</u> the skill.

As a result of these and other factors the training staff eschewed extensive skill training in favor of a program which concentrated upon remedial education and the altering of trainees' attitudes and behaviors. Orienting training around these activities appears in retrospect to have been a mistake, since the staff seemed to be hoping (if not always expecting) to undo the effects of several years of trainees' lives within a period of a few weeks. Significant and lasting attitudinal and behavioral changes and sizeable increments in basic education levels are difficult enough to achieve under the best of circumstances. It is therefore hardly surprising that they were not achieved under circumstances where men were to be trained for only a few weeks in large groups by people who for the most part lacked professional backgrounds in teaching and/or counseling and who were supplied with training materials that they felt were inadequate. In short, the program

set out to accomplish more than it could realistically hope to achieve.

Restrictive Contractual Obligations

Contracts between companies and the Manpower Administration for providing training and employment for the disadvantaged are customarily phrased in terms of the specific activities that a company is to perform rather than the goals it is to achieve. A company must contract to provide so many hours per week of training of very specific types. These contractual obligations are, moreover, generally made at a time when a company is relatively inexperienced in training disadvantaged workers. As a company's training program gets underway, a company may wish to shift program emphases when it discovers that certain aspects of its program are more promising than others. More adventurous and experimental training programs may require many such modifications during their histories, often just on the basis of day-to-day hunches of what seems to be worthwhile and what appears to be fruitless. While such changes might be quite in keeping with the spirit of what the company hopes to achieve--providing training and jobs for the disadvantaged--they may nevertheless deviate from the letter of the company's contract.

In the company in the present study, some of the training program staff felt needlessly constrained by the government contract under which the company's training activities were being subsidized. They felt that the contract discouraged experimentation and program development. Changing the contract was in principle quite feasible. But the power to effect such changes lay mainly in the hands of those

whose primary concerns were legal and financial and who had limited understanding of the program's changing needs and emphases. Moreover, changing the contract frequently involved exhausting and time-consuming procedures. Most of the more promising changes that occurred in the program during this study seem to have been effected in spite of, rather than because of, the company's arrangements with the Manpower Administration. Both the Manpower Administration and the company shared the goal of wanting to train and provide jobs for the disadvantaged. But the responsibility for alligning such joint governmental and business interests was to a great extent entrusted to those whose primary concern was not with the ultimate goal of the training endeavor but whose concern instead was in negotiating a contract which was legally and fiscally sound and which could be easily monitored. Although the government and the company had joined forces to provide steady employment for the disadvantaged, negotiations between these two parties were dominated more by men whose concerns were with numbers and dollars than by men with a broader appreciation of the social problems that this joint business-government activity could have solved. Critical matters of considerable social importance appeared to have been entrusted to men whose primary concerns were those of book-keeping, finance, auditing, and administration.

Too Many, Too Soon

In terms of the sheer number of men it trained, the training program was singularly impressive. But the program overcommitted itself to the number of men it could reasonably expect to train adequately during the time span of its training contracts, and there resulted a

number of undesirable side-effects. First, some of those directing the program became just as concerned with how many men were trained as with how well they were trained. Symptomatic of this overemphasis on numbers was one of the program director's frequent references to "processing units" rather than "training men." Second, training classes were too large. This might not have been a very severe problem had not the program adopted training objectives that presupposed frequent personal contact between trainer and trainee. Third, men had to be put through the program in large and relentless numbers from almost the program's very inception. Some of the staff felt that there was as a result inadequate time for "tooling up" and experimentation at the beginning of the program's history. Moreover, once training was underway there was inadequate time for the staff simply to "take a breather," stepping aside temporarily from day-to-day operations to review their progress to date and change what they felt was necessary. The staff were continually faced with the contractual obligation to train X number of men by X date. Finally, the number of trainees inducted at a particular time was not adequately synchronized with the number of entry-level jobs opening up in the company. Sometimes this resulted in some "job ready" trainees being kept in the training program because they could not be placed. More commonly, it had the opposite effect, resulting in trainees being placed before they had completed training simply because there were at the moment suitable job openings which might not exist later. One solution would have been to have reduced the number of trainees when it looked like there would be a cut-back in hiring some weeks later. But even if such cut-backs had been predictable (and they commonly were

not), the program was contractually obligated to train fixed numbers of men by fixed dates. As a result, the usual "quota" of trainees had to be inducted and the staff had to hope against hope that jobs would somehow be found for them. When jobs suddenly became plentiful, the staff appeared to over-react and place whatever men they could at the time. For example, at one point during the study there was a serious flu epidemic which created a labor shortage at the company's plants. The company found itself desperately in need of additional entry-level manpower and requested that as many trainees as possible be placed immediately. The training program obliged (presuming that it had the option to refuse, which may not have been the case) by placing a large number of trainees almost overnight, including many who had not yet been judged to be job ready. Some of these men had, in fact, been scheduled for the following day to be interviewed in the present study as trainee stays.

Insufficient Expertise

The company was not a newcomer to the field of manpower training, and its training division had many years of experience in the training of various types of personnel. It was, however, quite new to the kind of training that was involved in its vestibule training program for the disadvantaged. With some exceptions, the advisors and monitors had limited backgrounds in the activities in which they would have to engage during training. In addition, little was done to upgrade their skills once training had begun, since their hours were fully committed to the ceaseless training of large numbers of men. The monitors in particular

felt inadequately prepared for their teaching jobs, since they were expected to fill professional roles without having professional backgrounds. One company representative also complained somewhat bitterly that expertise that could have been used in aiding the program's development was not adequately available from the company's "colleagues" in its training endeavor: the Manpower Administration and the National Alliance of Businessmen. Either of the latter organizations could ideally serve as a clearing house for information concerning the activities that many companies are undertaking in order to provide training and jobs for the disadvantaged. This would not only be of considerable assistance to companies that are just beginning training programs but could possibly keep some companies from making the same mistakes that other companies have already made. If either the Manpower Administration or the National Alliance of Businessmen are indeed currently engaging in such a clearing-house activity, they do not appear to be doing a very good job of it. The company in the present study did not receive sufficient expert advice from either source and as a result had to develop its training program "from scratch." As a result, it had to resolve de novo issues that many other companies had probably grappled with many times before.

Inadequate Separation of Operations from Planning

The newness of the training program and its necessarily experimental character required that there be some group whose primary responsibilities were those of scrutinizing ongoing training activities, evaluating the effectiveness of these activities, and developing new

program activities in response to observed program deficiencies and newly created program needs. While in principle the top administration of the training program had these planning responsibilities, they also were responsible for administering the day-to-day operations of the program. The latter administrative activities were, however, sufficiently demanding that inadequate time appears to have been devoted to planning and program development. Moreover, concentrating responsibilities for both planning and operations in the same group of people tends to discourage objectivity. The group usually finds itself evaluating its own activities and hence rationalizing what has already been done rather than deciding what should have been done instead. A separate planning and development group, isolated from the demands of day-to-day operations, might have benefited the evolution of the company's training program.

Inadequate Separation of Administration from Training

It was pointed out earlier that the advisors acted principally as counselors of the trainees, that the monitors acted principally as teachers, and that their backgrounds in these roles were inadequate for the demands made of them. As if this were not difficult enough, the advisors (and to a lesser extent the monitors) were expected as well to be administrators of their training units. Too much of the advisors' time was consumed by paper-work, meetings, and other types of organizational busy-work, and too little time was devoted to what they had been hired to do. Each training unit could profitably have employed a third member of the training team whose principal responsibility was handling administrative matters. Unburdened of administrivia, the advisors and

monitors would have had more time to develop the skills required by their demanding, unfamiliar, and somewhat ambiguous roles.

Inadequate Handling of Racial Issues

The racial composition of the organizational hierarchy of the training program was similar to that of the company as a whole: the whites were concentrated at the top and the blacks at the bottom. As might be expected, this situation was viewed by the advisors and monitors, almost all of whom were black, with mixed feelings of discouragement and anger. As was pointed out earlier, it may also have contributed to their ambivalence concerning how realistically they could expect their black trainees to succeed in the white-dominated company. It also resulted in hierarchical conflicts between staff members being hopelessly confounded with racial issues. Consequently, quite ordinary conflicts between superiors and subordinates were in constant danger of being viewed by the parties involved as racial confrontations, thereby unleashing undue amounts of affect. The most dramatic case in point occurred when the black program staff drafted a set of demands for program reform which they presented directly to the chairman of the company's board of directors, a forceful move which was presumably an unheard-of breach of company etiquette. Although this set of demands was known in the training program as the Black Manifesto, the adjective "black" was unnecessary. Fundamentally, most of the demands could equally well have been made had all the advisors and monitors been white. In its over-reaction to the demands, the company reorganized the training program in a manner that some of the black staff resented and which

they felt was a conscious attempt to keep black staff members separated from each other. The racial imbalance of the training program's staff thus transformed what began as a rather modest conflict between hierarchical levels into a snow-balling racial conflict.

Discontinuities between the Training Situation and the Work Situation

Although the transition made by the trainee from the comparatively protective environment of the training program to the more demanding one of a company job was very abrupt, little was done to ease this transition. One attempt to do so that was made involved the creation of a "follow-up" program.

This follow-up program entailed each placed trainee's being assigned to a "follow-up advisor" at the plant where the trainee was working; the follow-up advisor was supposed to counsel the trainee, act as an ombudsman for him, and provide whatever help the advisor felt necessary to enable the placed trainee to be successful on his job. At the inception of the training program this follow-up work had been performed by the advisors of the training units, and the advisors reported that many placed trainees maintained frequent and close contact with them after placement. Indeed, such post-training contacts apparently became so demanding of the advisors' time and energy that the new role of follow-up advisor was instituted to take the burden of this follow-up activity off the advisors.

At the time of the present study, however, the follow-up program was being very weakly implemented, and the data indicated that contacts between placed trainees and their follow-up advisors were quite

infrequent. Almost half of the placed trainees in the study had never had any contact with their follow-up advisors, and two did not know whether they had met their follow-up advisors or not. Of the men who had at least had some contact with their follow-up advisors, most saw their advisors less often than once a week. The men were actually in somewhat less frequent contact with the follow-up advisors to whom they were assigned than with their former training advisors.

In spite of this, in its conception the follow-up program was a very promising innovation for a variety of reasons. First of all, it implicitly but realistically acknowledged that pre-employment training is not the ultimate solution to the problem of reducing turnover among the newly hired disadvantaged. The data in Section 3 demonstrated that such turnover was largely attributable to poor working conditions, a situation which no amount of training could remedy. But a follow-up advisor could conceivably secure a change in job assignment for a placed trainee who was having difficulty with his job or his foreman. Although the follow-up advisor could not alter the working conditions that might be creating trouble for a placed trainee, he could at least increase the trainee's chances for survival in the company by trying to get him reassigned to a less disagreeable job or foreman. In addition, he could help the trainee with any personal problems that occurred after the trainee had completed the training program. There is no reason to believe that all of a trainee's medical or psychological problems or problems with his life outside working hours would become evident during the few weeks he was in training. When such problems occurred for a placed trainee, the follow-up advisor could in principle provide the

same type of counseling or referral that the trainee's former training advisor had provided. Finally the follow-up advisor could serve as a useful mediating agent on behalf of a placed trainee who was in danger of losing his job. Section 3 has already suggested that once a non-union worker began to have difficulty with his foreman, little was done to halt his ultimately being fired. The foreman's word generally prevailed, and the company's personnel offices provided a poor court of appeals. In such crises the presence of a sympathetic third party such as the follow-up advisor who could act as ombudsman or mediator in the problem could possibly avert the otherwise inevitable firing of a potentially valuable although currently troubled employee.

Inadequate Program Evaluation

As their numerous full-page color advertisements in national magazines suggest, companies conducting programs for hiring and training the disadvantaged are proud of their accomplishments in this area and give such accomplishments wide publicity. They are, obviously, under some compulsion to make their efforts appear as effective as possible. It is quite easy to make even an ineffective program sound like the ultimate solution to the problem of providing employment for the disadvantaged if the program's publicists choose to ignore such troublesome matters as turnover, lack of control groups, and regression phenomena. But when management begins to believe its own publicity, it begins to blind itself to situations that it might otherwise be able to remedy. The directors of the company's training program seemed more willing to believe good news about the program than bad. The isolated success

story about a trainee who had done spectacularly well seemed to carry greater weight than more sobering turnover statistics. One of the directors proudly showing how a particular percentage of trainees had raised their scores on a test of reading comprehension, did not seem to regard as particularly relevant the percentage of trainees whose scores had decreased or not changed at all. From the points of view of some of those in charge of the program, the pertinent evaluative statistics were the total number of men who had been enrolled in the training program and the total number for whom jobs had been secured. There was considerably less attention to the more uncomfortable question of whether the disadvantaged trainees were doing any better than equally disadvantaged men who were beginning work in the company without having gone through the program.

Inadequate Power Allocations

The training program was organized as part of the company's general "training division." The program was structurally somewhat isolated from the company as a whole, and the division of which it was a part had no authority over managers in line operations or over the personnel department. The power base of the training program was therefore very weak. As a result, when issues arose in which the requirements of the training program were in conflict with those of the production arm of the company, the production requirements prevailed.

Inadequate Resource Allocation

Although many dollars of federal funds were obtained by the company to underwrite the program, the advisors and monitors could not

always draw upon these funds as suited the needs of their training classes. At times the advisors and monitors had to pay for training materials out of their own pockets. Those closest to the trainees, the advisors and monitors who were best able to judge the amount and quality of materials needed, were frequently not consulted in matters of allocating resources.

Under circumstances such as these and others described in earlier pages is it any wonder that trainees, the training staff, and outside observers could regard the company's training program as little more than an after-thought to the company's top management or as management's widely publicized means of convincing its publics that it was "doing something" about providing jobs for the disadvantaged? In light of the extremely limited organizational power, facilities, and resources which management allocated to its training program the company's ostensibly "whole-hearted" endorsement of the training program (as evidenced by communications from the president, board chairmen, etc., etc.) appears at worst to have been a deceitful answer to public demands and at best to have been a misdirected attempt to solve a social problem which it did not really understand.

Training Programs and Organizational Change

But even if conditions in the company's vestibule training program had been ideal, could the training have successfully reduced turnover? Suppose the present report had gone no further than page 61 and had stopped after it had presented data answering only the

question of what factors were associated with turnover from the job. What if it had been asked at that point in the report what steps could be taken to reduce turnover among disadvantaged workers? Would instituting a training program have been the obvious answer? Definitely not. The data concerning turnover from the job showed that this turnover was almost exclusively determined by characteristics of the worker's job or by generally immutable properties of the worker's background. Neither of these sources of turnover can be altered by training. That the company's training program failed to reduce turnover was less a function of shortcomings of the program's design or execution that it was a function of the total irrelevancy of the program to the social problem it was designed to solve. No amount of employee training can make working conditions objectively less noxious or change a man's history. In this light, the above recommendations for "improving training programs" appear akin to recommendations for the best way to tilt against windmills.

Why, then, have job training programs for the disadvantaged attained their current vogue? Part of the answer lies in the fundamental American faith in education as the solution to ills. Whenever a social problem occurs and its sources can be attributed to both social systems and people within these systems, efforts to solve the problem more often involve attempts to alter the behavior of the people rather than to modify the systems themselves. This is particularly true when the social system is a large industrial establishment. Confronted with high turnover, management can more comfortably attribute the turnover to shortcomings of its

workers than to shortcomings of their company. Lest the organizational status quo be altered--or, for that matter, even seriously questioned--an employee training program is then instituted to help employees "adapt" to an environment which management is likely to accept as a fact of life. The training is designed to mold workers to fit the existing industrial system, thereby side-stepping the possibility of modifying the organization to make it more compatible with the needs of the workers. Where organizational changes are made they are generally grudging concessions to workers' insistent demands.

Present practices of the Federal Government do little to encourage companies to attempt organizational change and job re-design as a means of providing workers, disadvantaged or otherwise, with decent jobs. The Manpower Administration spends millions on the development of job training programs for the disadvantaged. Little is spent on the improving of the quality of the jobs to which the disadvantaged are assigned after they have completed training. But even in the extremely unlikely event that sizeable funds could be directed to improving working conditions on entry-level jobs in the nation's businesses, such jobs are not likely to be conspiciously improved in the immediate future. Significant changes will in many cases entail major alterations of organizational structure, supervisory practices, and basic technology--none of which can be satisfactorily changed overnight on a large-scale basis.

But the pressing problem of providing decent jobs for the disadvantaged cannot abide such long-range solutions. It is a problem of

today which must be solved today with whatever mechanisms are currently available. One such mechanism lies in the contracts currently written by the Manpower Administration for providing jobs for the disadvantaged. At present such contracts employ very undemanding standards as to the quality of the jobs to which disadvantaged workers hired and/or trained under these contracts are assigned. As a result of such lack of selectivity, the Manpower Administration subsidizes programs which train disadvantaged workers for jobs as bad as the entry level jobs in the company in the present study--jobs on which the turnover rates even for workers who are not disadvantaged are very high. In the investigators' judgments, contracts for providing jobs for the disadvantaged could be more effectively written were they to contain a clause specifying that no man will be hired under the contract unless the job to which he is assigned is characterized by a turnover rate that is below some yet-to-be-determined level. Such contracts, the investigators feel, should also take into account the promotion rate of those who have held the position in question. If the government contracts with a company to subsidize the placing of a person on a job with a high rate of turnover and from which very few people in the past have ever advanced to better positions, it is doing little to help disadvantaged workers. It is simply subsidizing what a company may regard as its disposable work-force.

Despite the business and government canard about job training programs, it is clear that such programs cannot be the dramatic successes they are claimed to be so long as the target of proposed change is only the trainee and not also the organization or social system within

which such training is taking place. Perhaps the first question of this report should be reworded to ask not why many disadvantaged workers left the company, but why any of these men remained at all. Why did they remain in entry level jobs that offered little reasonable chance for promotion, that were monotonous, physically exhausting and often dangerous? Why did they remain in jobs that provided few opportunities for satisfying personal needs and goals? One answer may be that the alternatives available were even more distasteful--unemployment, illegal activities, or other similarly unrewarding means of self-support.

It is fatuous to expect men to adjust docily to the kinds of entry level jobs that direct hires and placed trainees were given. To try to train men for these jobs is both naive and a grave misdirection of energy. Paradoxically, if training is successful in that a trainee demonstrates academic competence, high self-esteem, and job skills, as well as the possession of achievement values and goals, he can hardly be expected to be satisfied with the entry level jobs offered him. Yet training is also a misdirection of energy because it assumes that the trainee alone rather than the job situation is the appropriate target for change in order to reduce turnover--an assumption vitiated by the findings of the present study. Change must be directed toward the elimination of barely tolerable working conditions rather than toward the modification of those who are victimized by these conditions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INDICES AND QUESTIONS USED IN ANALYSES

The following pages contain a list of all questions and indices that were used in the study's statistical comparisons employing various groups of direct hires and trainees. Excluded from the list are all the questions that were employed for purely descriptive purposes in either tables (e.g., Tables 3,5, and 31) or text (e.g., in the reasons voluntary terminees gave for quitting their jobs). Also excluded are questions which, although included in the interviews (Appendix B) were not used in any analyses--generally for reasons of insufficient variation in respondents' answers.

This list is presented for two purposes.

1. To indicate the questions upon which each multi-question index was based. Each multi-question index is indicated in the left margin by the letter "I" followed by a number. These numbers correspond to the index numbers referred to in the text and tables. After a shorthand phrase describing each index, the questions comprising the index are presented in parentheses. Question numbers correspond to those in Appendix B.

2. To record the total number of statistical tests that were made in each of the study's principal analyses. At several points in this report reference is made to the problem of whether the observed relationships could have arisen by chance (defined in this study as the .05 probability level) given the total number of statistical tests that were made. The list below provides the base relevant to regarding any particular finding as one that might have occured by chance. To aid in the reader's assessment of the extent to which observed relationships capitalized upon chance , the variables included in the list are divided into several substantive areas.

The right-hand column indicates the analyses in which each index or question was employed. The referents of the numbers are as follows:

Analysis 3: The analysis of direct hire turnover reported in Section 3

Analysis 4: The analysis of turnover from the training program reported in Section 4

Analysis 5a: The analysis of Section 5 establishing the initial similarity of trainee and direct hire sub-populations

Analysis 5b: The analysis of Section 5 assessing the effect of training on trainees' beliefs, attitudes and other attributes of their personalities

Analysis 5c: Section 5's comparisons between placed trainees and direct hire stays in terms of their evaluations of their jobs and working conditions.

MEASURE

		Analysis
CONTENT OF TRAINING PROGRAM		
I1	Adequacy of time devoted to safety and use of machines and tools (Q66-67)	3
I2	Adequacy of time devoted to reading, writing, and arithmetic (Q68-70)	3
I3	Adequacy of time devoted to discussing being on time for work and showing up regularly (Q71-72)	3
I4	Adequacy of time devoted to discussing miscellaneous job-adjustment problems (Q73-77)	3
I5	Adequacy of time devoted to matters included in above four indices (Q66-77)	3
CONTENT OF THE JOB		
	For trainee stays, terminees, and inductees the referent of these questions was the post-training job the trainee thought he would get (would have gotten) at the end of training. For direct hire stays and terminees and for placed trainees the referent was the worker's job. For direct hire inductees the referent was the job the inductee thought he would get.	
Q339	Respondent's evaluation of the "kind of work" he did	3,4,5a,5c
Q338	Respondent's evaluation of his chances for promotion	3,4,5a,5c
Q399	Respondent's estimation of how easy it would be to secure a change in job assignments	3,4,5a,5c
Q389	Respondent's estimation of how likely it was that he would get the job in the company he would most like to have	3,4,5a,5c
Q393	Respondent's estimation of how likely it was that he would get the job in the company he would least like to have	3,4,5a,5c
Q343	How soon worker thinks he will get his first promotion	4
Q344	Worker's view of job as an end in itself versus a stepping-stone to a better job	4
Q334	Assignment to multiple work stations	4

MEASURE		
CONTENT OF THE JOB (CONTINUED)		**Analysis**
Q345	Demands that the worker work too hard or too fast	4,5c
Q351	Demands that the worker do work that is boring	4,5c
Q352	Frequency with which worker is told to do something that he does not know how to do	4,5b
Q353	Adequacy of relief breaks	4,5c
Q364	Worker's knowledge of what his work routine will be like each day	4,5c
Q365	Worker's recognition of how his work fits in with that of others at his plant	4,5b
Q366	Whether worker had been taken on a tour of the plant	4,5c
Q369	Whether worker had been injured on the job	4,5c
PAY		
Q43	Trainee's evaluation of the pay he was receiving while in training	3
Q98	Inductee's evaluation of the pay he would be receiving on his future company job	3,5a
Q336	Worker's evaluation of the pay he was receiving	4,5c
HOURS		
Q44	Trainee's evaluation of the time of day his training classes met	3
Q45	Trainee's evaluation of the number of hours his training class met	3
Q99	Inductee's evaluation of the shift hours he would be working on his future company job	3,5a
Q337	Worker's evaluation of the shift hours he was working	4,5c

MEASURE		Analysis
RELATIONS WITH OTHERS--PEERS		
I6 I6	Cohesiveness of work group (or training group) (Q46,47,48,83)	3,4,5c
RELATIONS WITH OTHERS--SUPERIORS		
Q102	Inductee's evaluation of how well he would be treated by those over him on his future company job	3,5a
Q340	Worker's evaluation of how well he is treated by those over him	4,5c
Q115	How fairly trainee feels he has been treated by the company while in the training program	3
Q402	How fairly worker feels he has been treated by the company	4,5c
I7	Quality of Supervision: Foremen (Q378-383)	4,5c
I8	Quality of Supervision: Advisor (Q49-53)	3
I9	Quality of Supervision: Monitor (54-58)	3
Q373	What foreman calls worker	4,5c
Q374	Assignment to more than one foreman	4,5c
Q375 (or Q377)	Race of foreman	4,5c
Q384	Frequency of exposure to conflicting orders of foreman	4,5c
I10	Opportunities to realize power-oriented behavior in work groups or training group (Q62-65)	3,4,5c
Q61	Frequency with which respondent was told to do what he did not want to do while on the job or in training	3,4,5c

MEASURE		
RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES		**Analysis**
I11	Respondent's beliefs about how widespread discrimination against blacks was in the company (Q443,446,449,450,452)	3,4,5a,5b
I12	Respondent's beliefs about how widespread discrimination against blacks was in other companies (Q451,453)	3,4,5a,5b
I13	Respondent's reports of non-job-related discrimination he has experienced in the past (Q434,454,455)	3,4,5a,5b
I14	Black militancy (Q456,460,461)	3,4,5a,5b
Q446	Respondent's belief that white foremen in the company made it harder for black workers	3,4,5a,5b
MOTIVATIONAL VARIABLES		
I15	What respondent feels is important to him in a job: Factor I (Q123-125)	3,4,5a,5b
I16	What respondent feels is important to him in a job: Factor II (Q126-129)	3,4,5a,5b
I17	Respondent's desire for a job which affords him autonomy (Q118-120)	3,4,5a,5b
I18	Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Financial reasons (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for trainees and direct hires respectively)	3,4,5a,5b
I19	Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Work is suited to respondent's skills or abilities (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for trainees and direct hires respectively)	3,4,5a,5b
I20	Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Hygenic reasons (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for trainees and direct hires respectively)	3,4,5a,5b
I21	Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Content of work (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for trainees and direct hires respectively)	3,4,5a,5b
Q342	How soon worker wants to be promoted	4,5b

MEASURE		
OTHER BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES		**Analysis**
I22	Self-report of skill level: knowledge of safety and use of machines or tools (Q354,355)	4,5b
I23	Self-report of skill level: reading, writing and arithmetic (Q356,362,363)	4,5b
I24	Self-report of skill level: miscellaneous job-adjustment skills (Q37-361)	4,5b
I25	Self-report of skill level: includes all items in above three indices (Q354-363)	4,5b
I26	Self-confidence in performing five selected jobs (Q130-134)	3,4,5a,5b
Q144	Efficacy--achievement	3,4,5a,5b
Q150	Efficacy--achievement	3,4,5a,5b
Q145	Efficacy--power	3,4,5a,5b
Q148	Efficacy--power	3,4,5a,5b
I27	Sense of personal efficacy: general (Q135,136)	3,4
Q137	Sense of personal efficacy in face of discrimination	3,4
Q138	Attitude toward time schedules	3,4,5a,5b
I28	Importance of work in respondent's life (Q139,141,143)	3,4,5a,5b
CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS		
I28	Number of job training programs respondent has been in (Q238,239,243)	3,4,5a
Q248	How long respondent has lived in city where he currently lives	3,4,5a
Q249	State in which respondent grew up	3,4,5a
I29	Whether respondent grew up with a father or father substitute (Q252,253)	3,4,5a
Q256	Whether respondent's mother worked	3,4,5a

MEASURE

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (CONTINUED)

Q259	Whether respondent's family had to receive welfare assistance while he was growing up	3,4,5a
Q261	Highest grade in school that respondent completed	3,4,5a
Q264	Whether respondent left school because of difficulty with authority	3,4,5a
Q267	Marital status	3,4,5a
Q268	Whether respondent lives with his wife	3,4,5a
Q272	Age	3,4,5a
Q273	Whether respondent is the major payer of the bills in his home	3,4,5a
Q274	Whether respondent supports others	3,4,5a
Q276	Whether anything has happened recently to make respondent's financial conditions worse	3,4,5a
Q277	How much difficulty respondent has in "making ends meet"	3,4,5a
Q278	Whether worker had a second job outside the company	3,4,5a
I29	Adequacy of transportation from respondent's home to the company (Q281,282)	3,4,5a
Q293	Color of skin	3,4,5a
I30	Number of times respondent has been unemployed in last two years (Q178,180)	3,4,5a

MEASURE

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (CONTINUED)

MISCELLANEOUS		Analysis
Q85	How respondent was referred to the company	3,4,5a
Q285	Whether respondent's close friends want him to stay on job (or in training program)	3,4
Q288	Interviewer rating of respondent's ability to understand-interviewer	3,4,5a
Q289	Interviewer rating of respondent's ability to communicate with interviewer	3,4,5a
Q81	Respondent's feeling that it would look bad for blacks if many blacks dropped out of the training program (or left their company jobs)	3,4
Q95	Socioeconomic status of job respondent thinks he will end up with in life	3,4
Q97	Whether respondent feels he would be happy with the job he thinks he will end up with in life	3,4

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Seven interview schedules were employed in the study, one tailored to each of the seven samples interviewed. Since the seven interviews overlapped extensively, only two are presented in the following pages. These two (plus several additional questions which have been inserted into the copies below) encompassed all the questions used in the seven interviews.

There are two sets of numbers employed in the questionnaires. The first numbers, to the left of the questions, were exclusively for the use of the interviewers in working their way through the interviews. The term "question number" employed in the text of this report and in Appendix A refers instead to the parenthetical numbers to the right of the questions.

The first interview shown below is the trainee stay interview. This interview included questions 43 through 84, 87 through 271, 273 through 282, and 285 through 296. Inserted into the attached form of this interview are several additional questions that were asked only of trainee terminees (questions 2 through 42, 85 through 86, and 272). Four interview schedules--the trainee inductee, direct hire inductee, trainee stay interviews--were constructed from the pool of questions numbered 1 through 296.

The second interview shown below is the direct hire terminee interview. This interview included questions from the series numbered 300 through 577. Inserted into the attached form of this interview are several questions asked only of direct hires. Three interview schedules--the direct hire terminee, direct hire stay, and placed trainee interviews--were constructed from the pool of questions numbered 300 through 577.

The specific questions included in each of the seven interviews were as follows:

Interview	Questions Included in Interview
Trainee Inductee	85-94, 98-102, 106-110, 118-134, 138-173, 272-277, 283, 287-296
Direct Hire Inductee	85, 87-94, 98-102, 106-110, 118-134, 138-173, 272-277, 284, 286-296
Trainee Terminee	1-77, 81-84, 87-97, 108-271, 273-282, 285, 288-296
Trainee Stay	1, 2, 43-84, 87-271, 273-282, 285-296
Direct Hire Terminee	300-321, 330-396, 398-577
Direct Hire Stay	300, 330-577
Placed Trainee	300, 322-453, 461, 561-577

The specific wording of some questions varied somewhat with the particular sample being interviewed. Most conspicuously, terminees were asked about matters they had just experienced whereas stays were asked instead about matters they were currently experiencing. It is for this reason that the two appended interviews represent one that was administered to terminees and one that was administered to stays.

The authors invite replication of any parts of the study or the use of any of the interview schedules by qualified researchers. They request in return only to be informed of such use and to receive reports of any research based on these materials. If any researcher wishes to employ any of the five interview schedules not included verbatim in the following pages, he will save himself considerable work by not trying to infer the exact wording of questions from the question list presented above and the two schedules presented below. He is encouraged instead to write the authors for copies of the interview schedules he wishes to use.

TRAINEE STAY INTERVIEW

1. A few of the questions here are repeated from the first interview. Some people change how they feel from time to time and some people don't. So, I want to ask you a few of these questions again, just in case you feel differently about them now. (1)

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 2 THROUGH 42 WERE NOT ASKED IN THIS TRAINEE STAY INTERVIEW, BUT WERE INCLUDED ONLY IN THE TRAINEE TERMINEE INTERVIEW.

2. When you left the COMPANY did you have a job pretty well lined up or didn't you know what you'd be doing for work when you left? (2)

1 ☐ Job pretty well lined up

2 ☐ Didn't know what he'd be doing for work

3. Are you working now? (3)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 21)

(R IS WORKING NOW)

4. What kind of work are you doing? (4)

Kind of work: _____

5. What kind of business is that in? (5)

Business: _____

6. Most of the time do you work for yourself or for someone else? (6)

1 ☐ Self

2 ☐ BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Someone else

7. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q. 5) What do you do on this job? What are your main duties? (7)

_____

_____

_____

_____

(R IS WORKING NOW)

15. I'd like to find out a little more about the kind of work you think you might have got at the COMPANY.

A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it would have been pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(15)
b. The shift hours you'd have to work?	☐	☐	☐	(16)
c. Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(17)
d. The kind of work you'd be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(18)
e. The way you'd be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(19)

16. About how much would you have been paid an hour working at that job? (20)

_____Dollars and_____Cents

17. How long do you think it would have been before you got your first promotion to a job at a higher level? (21)

_____Years and/or_____Months

18. What do you think your first job at the COMPANY probably would have been? (22)

Name of job:_____

19. Do you think the training you got at the COMPANY made it easier for you to get the job you have now, or didn't the training make that much difference? (23)

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

20. How much easier was it to get the job you have now--would you say a lot, somewhat, or not too much? (24)

1 ☐ A lot (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

2 ☐ Somewhat (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

3 ☐ Not too much (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

(R IS WORKING NOW)

8. When did you start this job? (8)

_____Day and_____Month

9. How much do you get paid an hour? (INTERVIEWER: IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS HE WORKS PER WEEK) (9)

_____Dollars and_____Cents

10. How long do you think it will be before you get your first promotion to a job at a higher level? (10)

_____Years and/or_____Months

11. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How do you feel about the job you have now? (11)

1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

2 ☐ Stepping-stone

12. Do you have some general idea of the kind of job you would have got at the COMPANY if you had completed the training program? (12)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 19)

13. Would you say that the job you have now is a better deal than the one you might have got at the COMPANY, is it a worse deal, or is it about the same? (13)

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ Worse

3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO Q. 15)

14. In what ways is your present job (better/worse)? (14)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(R IS NOT WORKING)

21. Do you have some general idea of the kind of job you would have got at the COMPANY if you had completed the training program? (25)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 6, Q. 27)

22. I'd like to find out a little more about the kind of job you think you might have got at the COMPANY.

A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it would have been pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(26)
b. The shift hours you'd have to work?	☐	☐	☐	(27)
c. Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(28)
d. The kind of work you'd be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(29)
e. The way you'd be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(30)

23. Do you have some general idea of the next kind of job you're likely to get? (31)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 27)

24. On the whole, would you say that this job you're likely to get will be a better deal than the one you might have got at the COMPANY, a worse deal, or is it about the same? (32)

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ Worse

3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO Q. 26)

25. In what ways is it (better/worse)? (33)

_____

_____

_____

_____

(R IS NOT WORKING)

26. What do you think your first job at the COMPANY probably would have been? (34)

Name of job: _____

27. Do you think that the training you got at the COMPANY will make it easier for you to get a job or won't the training make that much difference? (35)

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

28. How much easier will it be to get a job--would you say a lot, somewhat, or not too much? (36)

1 ☐ A lot

2 ☐ Somewhat

3 ☐ Not too much

29. Did you leave the training program because you wanted to, or were you let go? (37)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO Q. 31)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

30. Why did you leave? (38)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q. 34)

B8

(R WAS LET GO)

31. Why were you let go? (39)

Any other reasons?

32. Do you think it was fair or unfair for them to discharge you? (40)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

33. Why is that? (41)

34. Do you wish you were back in the training program? (42)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

****

2. First, let's talk about what your training program is like. For each thing I read, please tell me how good your training class is . . .

   A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it's pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" and "c".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(43)
b. The time of day your training class meets?	☐	☐	☐	(44)
c. The number of hours your training class meets?	☐	☐	☐	(45)

3. Now let's talk about the men in your training group. (46)

   When you talk with the other trainees in your group, how often, do they pay attention to what you say--almost never, sometimes, usually, or nearly always?

   1 ☐ Almost never
   2 ☐ Sometimes
   3 ☐ Usually
   4 ☐ Nearly always

4. How many members of your training group would loan you a couple dollars for a week if they had it-all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them? (47)

   1 ☐ All
   2 ☐ Most
   3 ☐ Some
   4 ☐ Few (one or two)
   5 ☐ None

5. How much do you think the trainees in your group act like a team-- very much, pretty much, or not too much? (48)

1 ☐ Very much

2 ☐ Pretty much

3 ☐ Not too much

6. Now let's talk about advisors. I'll read a list of things and for each one tell me how much it's like <u>your</u> advisor (NAME OF ADVISOR). First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like him pretty much like him, or not much like him? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Very <u>much</u>	2 Pretty <u>much</u>	3 Not <u>much</u>	
a. He takes a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(49)
b. He has things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(50)
c. He can get men to do what he wants-- he is in control.	☐	☐	☐	(51)
d. He can really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(52)
e. He is really in favor of Black Power.	☐	☐	☐	(53)

7. Now I'd like to read this list again, and this time I want you to tell me about your monitor (NAME OF MONITOR). First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like her, pretty much like her, or not much like her? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Very <u>much</u>	2 Pretty <u>much</u>	3 Not <u>much</u>	
a. She takes a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(54)
b. She has things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(55)
c. She can get men to do what she wants-- she is in control.	☐	☐	☐	(56)
d. She can really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(57)
e. She is really in favor of Black Power.	☐	☐	☐	(58)

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8. What things do you like <u>best</u> about the training program? (59)

What other things do you like about the training program?

9. What would you like to see changed in the training program? (60)

What other changes would you like to see?

B12

10. Think about how <u>often</u> the following things happen in your training group.

A. (READ "a" BELOW) . . . always, often, sometimes or never? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Always	2 Often	3 Some-times	4 Never	
a. Do people tell you to do things you don't want to do . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(61)
b. Do you make most of your own decisions . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(62)
c. Do you choose what you want to do each day . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(63)
d. Do you make decisions for other people . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(64)
e. Do you have a lot of power . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(65)

11. For you yourself, is too much time spent on (READ "a" BELOW), too little time, or about the right amount of time? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "l".)

INTERVIEWER:

TO ANSWER OF "THEY DON'T SPEND ANY TIME ON IT," ASK A.

A. "Should they spend some time on it, or don't they need to spend any time on it for you."

If R says "some," record "too little time." If R says "didn't need any," record "about the right amount of time."

	1 Too much time	2 Too little time	3 About the right amount	
a. Teaching safety in a factory.	☐	☐	☐	(66)
b. Teaching you how to use the different kinds of tools and machines.	☐	☐	☐	(67)
c. Teaching you reading.	☐	☐	☐	(68)
d. Teaching you writing.	☐	☐	☐	(69)
e. Working with figures--handling numbers.	☐	☐	☐	(70)
f. Discussing being on time for work.	☐	☐	☐	(71)
g. Discussing showing up for work every day.	☐	☐	☐	(72)
h. Discussing how to make decisions.	☐	☐	☐	(73)
i. Teaching you to make yourself clear to the people you work with so they understand what you say.	☐	☐	☐	(74)
j. Discussing keeping calm when things break down.	☐	☐	☐	(75)
k. Discussing how to keep on the good side of foremen or men who are over you.	☐	☐	☐	(76)
l. Discussing how to keep on the good side of the men you work with.	☐	☐	☐	(77)

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12. Some of the men who come to the training program at the COMPANY quit before the first few days are up. What do you think might be some of the reasons they quit? (INTERVIEWER: IF R DOESN'T KNOW ANYONE WHO HAS QUIT, ASK "WHAT DO YOU THINK MIGHT BE SOME OF THE REASONS?") (78)

What are some other reasons they might quit?

13. If you had finished the training program and were looking for work somewhere other than the COMPANY do you think the training would make it easier for you to get a job, or wouldn't the training make that much difference? (79)

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO Q.15)

14. How much easier would it be to get a job--would you say a lot, somewhat, or not too much? (80)

1 ☐ A lot

2 ☐ Somewhat

3 ☐ Not too much

15. If a lot of men dropped out of the COMPANY training program, do you think this would look bad for the Black race, or doesn't it have anything to do with race? (81)

1 ☐ Would look bad

2 ☐ Doesn't have anything to do with race

16. Some people enter the training program because they want a job at the COMPANY. Others are there to get a little money until they can find work somewhere else. Which person are you most like? (82)

1 ☐ Wanted a job

2 ☐ Wanted a little money until I could find work

17. Compared to other training groups at the COMPANY how would you rate <u>your</u> group--would you say it's better than most, about the same as most, or worse than most? (83

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q. 19)

3 ☐ Worse

18. In what ways is your training group (better/worse)? (84)

_____

_____

_____

_____

In what other ways is your training class (better/worse)?

_____

_____

****

NOTE: AT THIS POINT IN THE INDUCTEE INTERVIEW, THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS WERE USED, QUESTION 86 BEING ASKED OF TRAINEE INDUCTEES ONLY

How did you happen to get (a job/into the job training program) at the COMPANY? (85)

When you came to the COMPANY, did you want to enter the job training program, did you want to go directly onto a job, or didn't you care one way or the other? (86)

****

19. When you begin working at the COMPANY what job would you <u>like</u> to start out with? (87)

Name of job: _____

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 10, Q.23)

20. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.19) What would you be doing on this job? What would your <u>main</u> duties be? (88)

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. What is there about this job that makes you want it? (89)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other reasons make you want this job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. How likely do you think it is that you'll get this job--very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all? (90)

1 ☐ Very likely

2 ☐ Somewhat likely

3 ☐ Not likely at all

23. What job at the COMPANY would you least want to have? (91)

Name of job:_____

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 11, Q.27)

24. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.23) What would you be doing on this job? What would your main duties be? (92)

_____

_____

_____

_____

25. What is there about this job that makes you not want it? (93)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other reasons make you not want this job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

26. How likely do you think it is that you'll be assigned to this job --very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all? (94)

1 ☐ Very likely

2 ☐ Somewhat likely

3 ☐ Not likely at all

27. What kind of job do you think you'll end up with in life? (95)

Kind of job: _____

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO Q.30)

28. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.27) What would you do on this job? What would your main duties be? (96)

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. Would you be perfectly happy with this kind of job, or would you want a different one? (97)

1 ☐ Perfectly happy

2 ☐ Want a different one

30. I'd like to find out a little about the kind of work you might have at the COMPANY after you finish the training program.

A. How about (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it will be pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(98)
b. The shift hours you'll be working?	☐	☐	☐	(99)
c. Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(100)
d. The kind of work you'll be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(101)
e. The way you'll be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(102)

31. About how much will you get paid an hour working at that job? (103)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

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32. How long do you think it will be before you get your first promotion to a job at a higher level? (104)

_____Years and/or _____Months

33. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How do you feel about the job you'll probably get? (105)

1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

2 ☐ Stepping stone

34. What do you think your first job at the COMPANY probably will be? (106)

Name of job:_____

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 36)

35. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.34) What would you do on this job? What would your main duties be? (107)

_____

_____

_____

_____

36. How hard or easy do you think it would be for you to get a new job assignment changed if you didn't like it--very hard, somewhat hard, somewhat easy, or very easy? (108)

1 ☐ Very hard

2 ☐ Somewhat hard

3 ☐ Somewhat easy

4 ☐ Very easy

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37. What is your best guess about how many men at the COMPANY speak up and ask for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to--all of them, some, only a few, or none of them? (109)

1 ☐ All (SKIP TO PAGE 14, Q.39)

2 ☐ Some

3 ☐ Only a few

4 ☐ None

38. Why don't all these men do it? Why don't all of them ask for different jobs? (110)

What else keeps them from asking for different jobs?

39. Did you ever work for the COMPANY before you came into this training program? (111)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.43)

40. Overall how fair was the COMPANY to you then - completely fair, pretty fair, or not too fair? (INTERVIEWER: A RESPONSE OF "PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND "NO WAYS" TO Q.41 IS ACCEPTABLE) (112)

1 ☐ Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.43)

2 ☐ Pretty fair

3 ☐ Not too fair

41. In what ways were you treated unfairly? (113)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways were you treated unfairly?

_____

_____

_____

_____

42. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who was it that treated you unfairly--what job(s) did (this/these) person(s) have with the company? (114)

Job(s): _____

_____

43. Overall, how fair do you think the COMPANY has been with you since you've been in this training program--completely fair, pretty fair, or not too fair? (INTERVIEWER: A RESPONSE OF 'PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND "NO WAYS" to Q.44 IS ACCEPTABLE.) (115)

1 ☐ Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 15A 45A

2 ☐ Pretty fair

3 ☐ Not too fair

44. In what ways have you been treated unfairly? (116)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways have you been treated unfairly?

_____

_____

_____

_____

45. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who is it that treated you unfairly--what job(s) does (this/these) person(s) have with the company? (117)

Job(s): _____

_____

45a. Let's talk about jobs in general. I'll tell you about two kinds of jobs and ask you which one you'd like most. These are <u>not</u> jobs at the COMPANY. These are things you'd like most in <u>any</u> job. First . . .

INTERVIEWER: USE FOLLOWING PROBE IF NECESSARY

> I know these are difficult questions because maybe you'd want both jobs or maybe you wouldn't want either job. But try to choose the one you'd like to have most.

a. Would you like most (118)

1 ☐ a job where other people like you.
OR
2 ☐ a job where no one tells you to do things you don't want to do.

b. Would you like most (119)

1 ☐ a job where you make most of your own decisions.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you do better than other people.

c. Would you like most (120)

1 ☐ a job where you can use your skills.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you can choose what you want to do each day.

d. Would you like most (121)

1 ☐ a job where you make decisions for other people.
OR
2 ☐ a job that is hard to do.

e. Would you like most (122)

1 ☐ a job where you have a lot of power.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you have a lot of friends.

46. Now let's talk about jobs. Different people want different things from a job. I am going to read some of the things that may or may not be important. For each one, please tell me how important it is to <u>you</u>. First . . .

A. To have (READ "a" BELOW). Would you say it's very important, pretty important, a little important, or not important at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "g".)

	1 Very	2 Pretty	3 A little	4 Not at all	
a. . . . a clean job, where you don't get dirty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(123)
b. . . . a job that your friends think a lot of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(124)
c. . . . a job where you don't have to work too hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(125)
d. . . . a job that is steady, with no chance of being laid off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(126)
e. . . . a job that <u>uses</u> your skill and abilities--lets you do the things you can do best.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(127)
f. . . . a job where you can learn new things, learn new skills.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(128)
g. . . . a job with good chances for getting ahead.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(129)

47. If you got the normal period of break-in and if you <u>wanted</u> to be a . . . (READ "a" BELOW.) . . . what kind of job do you think you could do--an excellent job, a very good job, a good job, or a fair job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Excellent	2 Very good	3 Good	4 Fair	
a. . . . worker on an assembly line . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(130)
b. . . . salesman in a store . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(131)
c. . . . automatic machine operator . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(13.)
d. . . . welder . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(133)
e. . . . foreman . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(134)

48. Now I'm going to read two sentences. Please tell me which of these two sentences is most true of you. Which do you believe most?

a. I believe that: (135)

1 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.
OR
2 ☐ Good or bad luck usually determines if my plans work.

b. I believe that: (136)

1 ☐ What happens to me is mostly my own doing.
OR
2 ☐ I don't have much choice about what happens to me

c. I believe that: (137)

1 ☐ Discrimination or prejudice usually determines if my plans work.
OR
2 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.

49. Now, for each thing I read, please tell me whether you mostly <u>agree</u> or mostly <u>disagree</u> with what it says. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with this? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

	1 Mostly <u>agree</u>	5 Mostly <u>disagree</u>	
a. I like to let things happen in their own way rather than to schedule them.	☐	☐	(138)
b. My only purpose in working is to make money.	☐	☐	(139)
c. It makes me feel bad to be late for an appointment.	☐	☐	(140)
d. I need a job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world.	☐	☐	(141)
e. I think there's something wrong with people who go to school for years when they could be out earning a living.	☐	☐	(142)
f. It's more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good friends.	☐	☐	(143)

49a. Now I have some questions about how you feel about things in general. For each sentence I read, I want to know how much you are like this. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like you, pretty much like you, not much like you, or not like you at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "j".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	4 Not at all	
a. I usually do a good job at what ever I do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(144)
b. I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(145)
c. If someone tried to make me do something I really didn't want to do, I'd probably refuse.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(146)
d. I only try things that are easy for me to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(147)
e. People often have power over me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(148)
f. I want to spend my free time doing what I want to do, not what someone else wants to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(149)
g. I often fail in things I try to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(150)
h. My family often tells me how to spend my money.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(151)
i. If I know I'm going to lose a game or contest, I don't want to be in it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(152)
j. I think that with the right kind of clothes or car people listen to me more.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(153)

50. Now I'd like to ask some questions about what it's like to be a Black at the COMPANY. First . . .

Do you think most of the white people at the COMPANY feel the same toward Blacks, or do they differ in how they feel? (154)

1 ☐ Same

2 ☐ Differ

51. How do they (feel/differ in their feelings) toward Black people? (155)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

52. What about the <u>white workers</u> at the COMPANY. Do you think they make it harder for Blacks in any way? (156)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q.55)

53. Do you think most of them make it harder for Blacks, some of them make it harder or just a few of them make it harder? (157)

1 ☐ Most of them

2 ☐ Some of them

3 ☐ Just a few of them

54. What do they do to make it harder? (158)

What else do they do to make it harder for Blacks?

55. Do you think any of the <u>white foremen</u> at the COMPANY make it harder for Blacks than for whites in any way? (159)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 20, Q.58)

56. Do you think most of the white foremen make it harder for Blacks, some of them make it harder, or just a few of them make it harder? (160)

1 ☐ Most of them

2 ☐ Some of them

3 ☐ Just a few of them

57. What do they do to make it harder? (161)

What else do they do to make it harder for Blacks?

58. Suppose a man at the COMPANY has a grievance or complaint against the company. Do you think the union pays less attention to a complaint from a Black man than from a white man, or doesn't race make any difference? (162)

1 ☐ Less attention to a Black

2 ☐ Race doesn't make any difference

59. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a really high paying job at the COMPANY. (163)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

60. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a really high paying job in <u>most</u> factories? (164)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

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66. Now I'm going to read a list of statements that people have differences of opinion about. I'd like you to tell me whether you mostly <u>agree</u> or mostly <u>disagree</u> with each one. First . . .

	1 Mostly <u>agree</u>	5 Mostly <u>disagree</u>	
a. Whites can't be counted on to give a fair deal to a Black.	☐	☐	(170)
b. If a Black becomes rich or famous, nothing should be more important to him than helping the cause of other Blacks.	☐	☐	(171)
c. An owner of property should <u>not</u> have to sell to Blacks if he doesn't want to.	☐	☐	(172)
d. Blacks should shop in Black owned stores wherever possible.	☐	☐	(173)

67. Could the training program at the COMPANY be considered a case of Black Power in action, or not? (174)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

68. How is that? (175)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

69. On the whole, do you favor or oppose the idea of Black Power? (176)

1 ☐ Favor

2 ☐ Oppose

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61. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor at the COMPANY. (165)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

62. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor in most factories? (166)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

63. How much has being Black prevented you from getting the things you want out of life--would you say very much, some, not too much, or not at all? (167)

1 ☐ Very much

2 ☐ Some

3 ☐ Not too much

4 ☐ Not at all

64. Do you think only a few white people in this country dislike Blacks, many dislike Blacks, or almost all white people dislike Blacks? (168)

1 ☐ Only a few

2 ☐ Many

3 ☐ Almost all

65. Some say that Blacks have been pushing too fast for what they want. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you--do you think Blacks are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are moving at about the right speed? (169)

1 ☐ Too fast

2 ☐ Too slowly

3 ☐ About the right speed

70. Now we have some questions about job experiences you've had since you left school. First . . . (177)

Have you ever been out of work for more than a year at one time?

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

71. In the last twelve months how many times have you been out of work? (178)

_____Number of times

72. Altogether about how much time were you out of work in the last twelve months? (179)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

73. What about the year before that? How many times were you out of work? (180)

_____Number of times

74. Altogether, about how much time were you out of work that year? (181)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

75. How long were you out of work before coming into this COMPANY training program? (182)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

76. We'd like to know what jobs you've had in the last two years. Let's start with your last job.

JOB #1

Could you tell me the name of the job you had last--what was it called? (183)

Name of job:_____

77. What kind of business was that in? (184)

Business:_____

78. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (185)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

79. How long were you on this job? (186)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

80. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.) (187)

_____Dollars and _____Cents per hour

81. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (188)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 25, Q.83)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

82. Why did you leave? (189)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q.86)

(R WAS LET GO)

83. Why were you let go? (190)

Any other reasons you were let go?

84. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (191)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

85. Why 's that? (192)

86. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (193)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #2

87. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (194)

Name of job: _____

88. What kind of business was that in? (195)

Business: _____

89. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (196)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

90. How long were you on this job? (197)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

91. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.) (198)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

92. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (199)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 28, Q.94)

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(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

93. Why did you leave? (200)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 29, Q.97)

(R WAS LET GO)

94. Why were you let go? (201)

Any other reasons you were let go?

95. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (202)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

96. Why is that? (203)

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97. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (204)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #3

98. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (205)

Name of job:_____

99. What kind of business was that in? (206)

Business:_____

100. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (207)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

101. How long were you on this job? (208)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

102. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED) (209)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

103. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (210)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 31, Q.105)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

104. Why did you leave? (211)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 32, Q.108)

(R WAS LET GO)

105. Why were you let go? (212)

Any other reasons you were let go?

106. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (213)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

107. Why is that? (214)

108. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (215)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #4

109. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (216)

Name of job:_____

110. What kind of business was that in? (217)

Business:_____

111. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (218)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

112. How long were you on this job? (219)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

113. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.) (220)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

114. Did you leave this job because you wanted to or were you let go? (221)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 34, Q.116)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

115. Why did you leave? (222)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q.119)

(R WAS LET GO)

116. Why were you let go? (223)

Any other reasons you were let go?

117. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (224)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

118. Why is that? (225)

119. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (226)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #5

120. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (227)

Name of job:_____

121. What kind of business was that in? (228)

Business:_____

122. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (229)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

123. How long were you on this job? (230)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

124. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK.) (231)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

125. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (232)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 37, Q.127)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

126. Why did you leave? (233)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 38, Q.130)

(R WAS LET GO)

127. Why were you let go? (234)

Any other reasons you were let go?

128. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (235)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

129. Why is that? (236)

130. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (237)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

131. In the last five years have you been in any other job programs that weren't part of a regular high school or trade school training program? (238)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.140)

132. Could you give me the names of these programs, starting with the one you were in last? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD NAMES OF PROGRAMS UNDER Q.132 and 136, AND ASK SUB-QUESTIONS FOR EACH SET. USE ADDITIONAL PAPER IF MORE THAN 2 PROGRAMS.) (239)

NAME OF PROGRAM #1: _____

133. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (240)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

134. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to finish it? (241)

1 ☐ Yes, completed (GO ON TO Q.136, OR SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.140 IF NO MORE PROGRAMS.)

5 ☐ No, not completed

135. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (242)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

136. Name of Program #2:_____ (243)

137. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (244)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

138. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to finish it? (245)

1 ☐ Yes, completed (SKIP TO Q. 140)

5 ☐ No, not completed

139. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (246)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

140. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your background. (247)

First, have you lived in the City all of your life?

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO PAGE 40, Q. 143)

5 ☐ No

141. How long have you lived in the City--how many years and months? (248)

_____Years and_____Months

142. In what state did you live the longest while you were growing up--let's say until you were about sixteen years old? (IF R HAS LIVED AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF TIME IN TWO STATES, RECORD WHICH OF THE TWO STATES HE LIVED IN WHEN HE WAS OLDEST.) (249)

State:_____

143. Now we'd like to ask a few questions about your mother and father. (250)

During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your mother?

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.145)

5 ☐ No

144. Was there some woman who raised you who was <u>like</u> a mother to you? (251)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

145. During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your father? (252)

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.147)

5 ☐ No

146. Was there some man who raised you who was <u>like</u> a father to you? (253)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.149)

INTERVIEWER:

IF R WAS RAISED BY A SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), INDICATE TO HIM THAT FUTURE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER SHOULD BE ANSWERED IN TERMS OF THESE SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S). IF HE HAD NO REAL OR SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), MARK AS "INAP" THE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER.

147. Was there any time you remember that your father could not find work? (254)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 41, Q.149)

148. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times, or nearly all the time. (255)

1 ☐ One or two times

2 ☐ Several times

3 ☐ Nearly all the time

149. Did your mother sometimes have a steady job while you were growing up? (256)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.152)

150. Was there any time you remember that she couldn't find work when she wanted it? (257)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.152)

151. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times, or nearly all the time? (258)

1 ☐ One or two times

2 ☐ Several times

3 ☐ Nearly all the time

152. While you were growing up, was it ever necessary for your family to get some kind of help from any of the welfare or government aid programs to help make ends meet? (259)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.154)

153. Just counting the time until you were about sixteen, how many months or years in all would you say it was necessary for your family to have this help? (260)

_____Months and/or _____Years

154. What was the highest grade of school you completed? (261)

GRADE SCHOOL:	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
HIGH SCHOOL:	09	10	11	12(Has high school diploma)					
COLLEGE:	13	14	15	16(Has college degree)					
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL:	17+								

155. How old were you then? (262)

_____Years of age

156. What year was that? (263)

19_____

(INTERVIEWER: IF R LEFT SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATING FROM TWELFTH GRADE, ASK:)

157. Why did you leave school before graduating? What happened? (264)

For what other reasons did you leave?

158. Have you had any other schooling? (265)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 43, Q.160)

159. What other schooling did you have? ~~(266)~~

160. Now we'd like to ask you some general questions about your home situation. First . . . (267)

Do you have a wife?

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 165)

161. Are you living with her at present? (268)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 163)

162. Does your wife work? (269)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

163. Do you have any children? (270)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 165)

164. How many of your children are living with you? (271)

_____Number

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING QUESTION WAS INCLUDED ONLY IN THE INDUCTEE INTERVIEW AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTION SEQUENCE:

How old were you on your last birthday? (272)

****

165. Do you pay <u>most</u> of the household bills where you live, or does someone else pay most of them? (273)

1 ☐ Respondent

2 ☐ Someone else

3 ☐ SHARE EQUALLY

166. Do you have to support yourself only, or are there any others you have the <u>main</u> responsibility for supporting? (274)

1 ☐ Self only (SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q. 168)

2 ☐ Support others

167. How many other people do you have the main responsibility for supporting, not counting yourself? (275)

_____Number of people

168. Outside of not having a job, is there anything that has happened in the last few months that has made your financial situation worse than it was before? (276)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

169. How much difficulty are you having in making ends meet these days--would you say it's very difficult, somewhat difficult, not too difficult, or not difficult at all? (277)

1 ☐ Very difficult

2 ☐ Somewhat difficult

3 ☐ Not too difficult

4 ☐ Not difficult at all

170. Are you working anywhere outside of the COMPANY? (278)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.172)

171. How many hours a week are you working outside of the COMPANY? (279)

_____Hours per week

172. How do you get to the COMPANY? Do you drive your own car, take the bus, ride with other people, or what? (280)

1 ☐ Drive own car

2 ☐ Bus

3 ☐ Ride with others

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):_____

173. How long does it take you to get from your home to the COMPANY? (281)

1 ☐ Less than 15 minutes

2 ☐ 15-29 minutes

3 ☐ 30-44 minutes (half-hour)

4 ☐ 45-59 minutes

5 ☐ 60 minutes or more (hour)

174. How satisfied are you with your travel arrangements to the COMPANY--very satisfied, pretty satisfied, not too satisfied, or not satisfied at all? (282)

1 ☐ Very satisfied
2 ☐ Pretty satisfied
3 ☐ Not too satisfied
4 ☐ Not satisfied at all

****

NOTE: QUESTION 283 WAS ASKED ONLY OF TRAINEE INDUCTEES AND QUESTION 284 WAS ASKED ONLY OF DIRECT HIRE INDUCTEES.

45. In general, do <u>most</u> of your closest friends want you to get into the COMPANY training program, are they against it, or don't they care much one way or the other? (283)

1 ☐ Want him to get into the COMPANY program
2 ☐ Against it
3 ☐ Don't care much one way or the other

44. In general, do most of your closest friends want you to get into the COMPANY, are they against it, or don't they care much one way or the other? (284)

1 ☐ Want him to get into the COMPANY
2 ☐ Against it
3 ☐ Don't care much one way or the other

****

175. In general, do <u>most</u> of your closest friends want you to stay in the COMPANY training program, do they want you to leave, or don't they care much one way or the other? (285)

1 ☐ Want him to stay
2 ☐ Want him to leave
3 ☐ Don't care much one way or the other

176. In case we might want to talk with you again, could you please give me the name and phone number of someone who will always know how to get in touch with you? (286)

NAME: _____

PHONE NUMBER: _____

CITY: _____

177. And could I check that I have your correct address. Is it (READ FROM COVER SHEET; MAKE ANY CORRECTIONS ON COVER SHEET). (287)

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

1. Please rate the ability of the respondent <u>to understand you</u> when you spoke to him: (288)

   1 ☐ Frequently could not understand me even after I repeated the question several times

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty understanding me; usually understood after I repeated the question

   3 ☐ Usually understood me; sometimes had difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always understood me

2. Rate the ability of the respondent to communicate to you his thoughts and feelings: (289)

   1 ☐ Frequently could not express himself in a way I could understand

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty in expressing himself; usually I could get an answer by pursuing the question

   3 ☐ Usually expressed himself well; sometimes had difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always expressed himself well

3. Cooperativeness of respondent at <u>beginning</u> of interview. (290)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

4. Cooperativeness of respondent at <u>end</u> of interview. (291)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

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5. R's race is: (292)

1 ☐ Black

2 ☐ White (SKIP TO Q.7)

3 ☐ Other (SPECIFY, AND SKIP TO Q.7):_____

6. Rate R's skin color: (293)

1 ☐ Very light

2 ☐ Somewhat light (tan)

3 ☐ Somewhat dark (brown)

4 ☐ Very dark brown or black

7. Length of interview: (294)

_____Minutes

8. Was anyone within hearing distance of the interview besides yourself and respondent? (295)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.10)

9. Describe situation: Specify who was present (friend, advisor, "unknown," etc.) (296)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

DIRECT HIRE TERMINEE INTERVIEW

1. A few of the questions here are repeated from the first interview. Some people change how they feel from time to time and other people don't. So, I want to ask you a few of these questions again, just in case you feel differently about them now. (300)

2. When you left the COMPANY did you have a job pretty well lined up or didn't you know what you'd be doing for work when you left? (301)

   1 ☐ Job pretty well lined up

   2 ☐ Didn't know what he'd be doing for work

3. Are you working now? (302)

   1 ☐ Yes

   5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 4, Q. 14)

(R IS WORKING NOW)

4. What kind of work are you doing? (303)

   Kind of work: _____

5. What kind of business is that in? (304)

   Business: _____

6. Most of the time do you work for yourself or for someone else? (305)

   1 ☐ Self

   2 ☐ BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

   3 ☐ Someone else

(R IS WORKING NOW)

7. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.5) What do you do on this job? What are your main duties? (306)

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. When did you start this job? (307)

_____Day and _____Month

9. How much do you get paid an hour? (INTERVIEWER: IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS HE WORKS PER WEEK) (308)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

10. How long do you think it will be before you get your first promotion to a job at a higher level? (309)

_____Years and/or _____Months

11. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How do you feel about the job you have now? (310)

1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

2 ☐ Stepping-stone

12. Would you say that the job you have now is a better deal than the one you had at the COMPANY, is it a worse deal, or is it about the same? (311)

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ Worse

3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

(R IS WORKING NOW)

13. In what ways is your present job (better/worse)? (312)

(R IS NOT WORKING)

14. Do you have some general idea of the next kind of job you're likely to get? (313)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

15. On the whole, would you say that this job you're likely to get will be a better deal than the one you had at the COMPANY a worse deal, or is it about the same? (314)

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ Worse

3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

16. In what ways will it be (better/worse)? (315)

B60

17. Did you leave the COMPANY because you wanted to, or were you let go? (316)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 6, Q.19)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

18. Why did you leave? (317)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q.22)

(R WAS LET GO)

19. Why were you let go? (318)

Any other reasons?

20. Do you think it was fair or unfair for them to discharge you? (319)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

21. Why is that? (320)

22. Do you wish you were back on your last job at the COMPANY? (321)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 322 THROUGH 329, WERE INCLUDED ONLY IN THE INTERVIEWS WITH PLACED TRAINEES:

2. Do you think that the job training program has helped you to do better on the job you have now, or hasn't it made much difference? (322)

1 ☐ Better

2 ☐ Hasn't made much difference (SKIP TO PAGE 3, Q. 4)

3. How has it helped you to do better on your job? (323)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways has it helped you?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Were there any parts of the job training program that were a waste of time for you? (324)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 4, Q. 6)

5. What parts were a waste of time for you? (325)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other parts were a waste of time for you?

_____

_____

_____

6. Have you spent any time talking with your advisor (NAME OF TRAINING ADVISOR) since you were placed on the job? (326)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 8)

7. How often have you spent any time talking with him since you were placed on the job? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE R INTO ONE OF THE CATEGORIES BELOW) (327)

1 ☐ Every day

2 ☐ A few times a week

3 ☐ Once a week

4 ☐ 2-3 times a month

5 ☐ Once a month

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):_____

8. Have you met Mr. (NAME OF FOLLOW-UP ADVISOR), your follow-up advisor since you were placed on the job? (328)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 10)

9. How often have you spent any time talking with him since you were placed on the job? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE R INTO ONE OF THE CATEGORIES BELOW) (329)

1 ☐ Every day

2 ☐ A few times a week

3 ☐ Once a week

4 ☐ 2-3 times a month

5 ☐ Once a month

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):_____

****

23. What was your last job at the COMPANY? (330)

Name of job:_____

24. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.23) What did you do on this job? What were your <u>main</u> duties? (331)

_____

_____

_____

_____

25. What things did you like <u>best</u> about your job? (332)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other things did you like about your job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

26. What would you have liked to see changed about your job? (333)

What other changes would you have liked to see?

27. Did you spend most of your time working at one station, or were you moved from work station to work station? (334)

1 ☐ One station (SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q.29)

2 ☐ Moved from station to station

28. Generally, how often were you moved from one work station to another? (335)

_____Times per day or _____Times per week

29. Let's talk more about your last job at the COMPANY.

A. How about (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it was pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(336)
b. The shift hours you were working?	☐	☐	☐	(337)
c. Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(338)
d. The kind of work you were doing?	☐	☐	☐	(339)
e. The way you were treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(340)

30. How much did you get paid an hour working at your job? (341)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

31. When would you have liked to have been promoted to a job at a higher level? (342)

☐ Immediately

☐ Never

_____Years and/or _____Months

32. How long do you think it would have been before you got promoted to a job at a higher level? (343)

_____Years and/or _____Months

33. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How did you feel about the job you had at (344)

1 ☐ Planned to stick with it

2 ☐ Stepping stone

34. Think about how <u>often</u> the following things happened on your job.

A. (READ "a" BELOW) . . . always, often, sometimes or never? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "i".)

	1 Always	2 Often	3 Sometimes	4 Never	
a. Did you have to work too fast or too hard . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(345)
b. Did people tell you to do things you didn't want to do . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(346)
c. Did you make most of your own decisions . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(347)
d. Did you choose what you wanted to do each day . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(348)
e. Did you make decisions for other people . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(349)
f. Did you have a lot of power . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(350)
g. Were you bored . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(351)
h. Were you told to do something when you didn't know <u>how</u> to do it . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(352)
i. Did you get relief time or rest breaks when you needed them . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(353)

35. Did you feel you knew enough about (READ "a" BELOW), or did you need to know more about this for your job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "h".)

		1 Knew enough	2 Needed to know more	
a.	Safety in a factory . . .	☐	☐	(354)
b.	How to use the different kinds of tools and machines . . .	☐	☐	(355)
c.	Working with figures--handling numbers . . .	☐	☐	(356)
d.	How to make decisions . . .	☐	☐	(357)
e.	How to make yourself clear to the people you worked with so they understood what you said . . .	☐	☐	(358)
f.	How to keep calm when things break down . . .	☐	☐	(359)
g.	How to keep on the good side of foremen or men who were over you . . .	☐	☐	(360)
h.	How to keep on the good side of the men you worked with . . .	☐	☐	(361)

36. Did you feel you knew how to read well enough for your job, or not? (362)

1 ☐ Yes, knew well enough

5 ☐ No, didn't know well enough

37. Did you feel you knew how to write well enough for your job, or not? (363)

1 ☐ Yes, knew well enough

5 ☐ No, didn't know well enough

38. How good an idea did you have each day of what your work routine would be like? Did you have a very good idea, a pretty good idea, some idea, or no idea at all? (364)

1 ☐ A very good idea

2 ☐ A pretty good idea

3 ☐ Some idea

4 ☐ No idea at all

39. How good an idea did you have of how your work fit in with what other factory workers did at your plant--a very good idea, a pretty good idea, some idea, or no idea at all? (365)

1 ☐ Very good idea

2 ☐ Pretty good idea

3 ☐ Some idea

4 ☐ No idea at all

40. Did anyone at the COMPANY take you through the plant so you could see what was happening in other areas? (366)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

41. What shift did you work? (367)

1 ☐ First: about 6 in the morning to 2:30 in the afternoon

2 ☐ Second: about 3:30 in the afternoon to 11:30 at night

3 ☐ Third: about 12:30 at night to early morning

4 ☐ No regular shift

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY HOURS:)_____

42. On the job you had, were you ever hurt badly enough to want to see the plant nurse or doctor? (368)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

43. How often did you have to work around things that were dangerous or could hurt you--always, often, sometimes, or never? (369)

1 ☐ Always

2 ☐ Often

3 ☐ Sometimes

4 ☐ Never

44. Now let's talk about the people you worked with.

When you talked with the other people, how often did they pay attention to what you said--almost never, sometimes, usually, or nearly always? (370)

1 ☐ Almost never

2 ☐ Sometimes

3 ☐ Usually

4 ☐ Nearly always

45. How many of the people you worked with would have loaned you a couple dollars for a week if they had had it--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them? (371)

1 ☐ All

2 ☐ Most

3 ☐ Some

4 ☐ Few (one or two)

5 ☐ None

46. How much do you think the people you worked with acted like a team--very much, pretty much, or not too much? (372)

1 ☐ Very much

2 ☐ Pretty much

3 ☐ Not too much

47. Let's talk about foremen. When the foremen you worked for at the COMPANY talked to you, did they call you mostly by name, mostly by your badge number, or what? (373)

1 ☐ Name

2 ☐ Badge number

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY:)_____

48. Was there more than one person you thought of as your foreman? (374)

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.50)

5 ☐ No

(R HAD ONLY ONE FOREMAN

49. Was your foreman Black or white? (375)

1 ☐ Black

2 ☐ White

(SKIP TO Q.52)

(R HAD MORE THAN ONE FOREMAN)

50. Of these foremen was there any one who you spent most of your time time working for? (376)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.53)

51. Was this foreman Black or white? (377)

1 ☐ Black

2 ☐ White

52. I'll read a list of things and for each one tell me how much it was like this foreman. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Was this very much like him, pretty much like him, or not much like him? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	
a. He took a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(378)
b. He had things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(379)
c. He could get men to do what he wanted--he was in control.	☐	☐	☐	(380)
d. He could really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(381)
e. He wanted you to give ideas and suggestions.	☐	☐	☐	(382)
f. He told you when you were doing a good job.	☐	☐	☐	(383)

53. How often were you put in the middle between two foremen who wanted different things from you? Would you say this happened often, sometimes, rarely, or never? (384)

1 ☐ Often

2 ☐ Sometimes

3 ☐ Rarely

4 ☐ Never

54. Was there any job at the COMPANY you wanted more than the one you had? (385)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 17, Q.59)

55. What job was that? (386)

Name of job:_____

56. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.55) What would you have been doing on this job? What would your <u>main</u> duties have been? (387)

57. What is there about this job that made you want it? (388)

What other reasons made you want this job?

58. How likely do you think it was that you would have gotten this job--very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all? (389)

1 ☐ Very likely

2 ☐ Somewhat likely

3 ☐ Not likely at all

59. What job at the COMPANY would you have least wanted to have? (390)

Name of job:_____

1 ☐ Job I had there (SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q.63)

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q.63)

60. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.59) What would you have been doing on this job? What would your <u>main</u> duties have been? (391)

_____

_____

_____

_____

61. What was there about this job that made you not want it? (392)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other reasons made you not want this job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

62. How likely do you think it was that you would have gotten this job --very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all? (393)

1 ☐ Very likely

2 ☐ Somewhat likely

63. What kind of job do you think you'll <u>end up with in life?</u> (394)

Kind of job:_____

8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q. 66)

64. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q. 63) What would you do on this job? (395)
What would your <u>main</u> duties be?

_____

_____

_____

_____

65. Would you be perfectly happy with this kind of job, or would you want a different one? (396)

1 ☐ Perfectly happy

2 ☐ Want a different one

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 397, WAS INCLUDED ONLY IN THE DIRECT HIRE STAY AND PLACED TRAINEE INTERVIEWS:

Some of the men who come to the COMPANY quit before the first days are up. What do you think might be some of the reasons they quit?
What are some other reasons they might quit? (397)

****

67. If a lot of Blacks dropped out of the COMPANY do you think this would look bad for the Black race, or doesn't it have anything to do with race? (398)

1 ☐ Would look bad

2 ☐ Doesn't have anything to do with race

68. How hard or easy do you think it would have been for you to get a new job assignment changed if you didn't like it--very hard, somewhat hard, somewhat easy, or very easy? (399)

1 ☐ Very hard

2 ☐ Somewhat hard

3 ☐ Somewhat easy

4 ☐ Very easy

69. What is your best guess about how many men at the COMPANY speak up and ask for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to--all of them, some, only a few, or none of them? (400)

1 ☐ All (SKIP TO PAGE 20, Q.71)

2 ☐ Some

3 ☐ Only a few

4 ☐ None

70. Why don't all these men do it? Why don't all of them ask for different jobs? (401)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else keeps them from asking for different jobs?

_____

_____

_____

71. Overall, how fair do you think the COMPANY was with you on your last job? (402)
there--completely fair, pretty fair, or not too fair? (INTERVIEWER: A RESPONSE OF "PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND "NO WAYS" TO Q.72 IS ACCEPTABLE.)

1 ☐ Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 21, Q.74)

2 ☐ Pretty fair

3 ☐ Not too fair

72. In what ways were you treated unfairly? (403)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways were you treated unfairly?

_____

_____

_____

_____

73. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who was it that treated you unfairly--what job(s) did (this/these) person(s) have with the company? (404)

Job(s): _____

_____

74. Let's talk about jobs in general. I'll tell you about two kinds of jobs and ask you which one you'd like most. These are <u>not</u> jobs at the COMPANY These are things you'd like most in <u>any</u> job. First . . .

INTERVIEWER: USE FOLLOWING PROBE IF NECESSARY

I know these are difficult questions because maybe you'd want both jobs or maybe you wouldn't want either job. But try to choose the one you'd like to have most.

a. Would you like most (405)

1 ☐ a job where other people like you.
OR
2 ☐ a job where no one tells you to do things you don't want to do.

b. Would you like most (406)

1 ☐ a job where you make most of your own decisions.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you do better than other people.

c. Would you like most (407)

1 ☐ a job where you can use your skills.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you can choose what you want to do each day.

d. Would you like most (408)

1 ☐ a job where you make decisions for other people.
OR
2 ☐ a job that is hard to do.

e. Would you like most (409)

1 ☐ a job where you have a lot of power.
OR
2 ☐ a job where you have a lot of friends.

75. Different people want different things from a job. I am going to read some of the things that may or may not be important. For each one, please tell me how important it is to <u>you</u>. First . . .

A. To have (READ "a" BELOW). Would you say it's very important, pretty important, a little important, or not important at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "g".)

	1 Very	2 Pretty	3 A little	4 Not at all	
a. . . . a clean job, where you don't get dirty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(410)
b. . . . a job that your friends think a lot of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(411)
c. . . . a job where you don't have to work too hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(412)
d. . . . a job that is steady, with no chance of being laid off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(413)
e. . . . a job that <u>uses</u> your skill and abilities--lets you do the things you can do best.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(414)
f. . . . a job where you can learn new things, learn new skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	(415)
g. . . . a job with good chances for getting ahead.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(416)

76. If you got the normal period of break-in and if you <u>wanted</u> to be a . . . (READ "a" BELOW) . . . what kind of job do you think you could do--an excellent job, a very good job, a good job, or a fair job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Excellent	2 Very good	3 Good	4 Fair	
a. . . . worker on an assembly line . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(417)
b. . . . salesman in a store . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(418)
c. . . . automatic machine operator . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(419)
d. . . . welder . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(420)
e. . . . foreman . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(421)

77. Now I have some questions about how you feel about things in general. For each sentence I read, I want to know how much you are like this. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like you, pretty much like you, not much like you, or not like you at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "j".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	4 Not at all	
a. I usually do a good job at what ever I do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(422)
b. I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(423)
c. If someone tried to <u>make</u> me do something I really didn't want to do, I'd probably refuse.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(424)
d. I only try things that are easy for me to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(425)
e. People often have power over me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(426)
f. I want to spend my free time doing what <u>I</u> want to do, not what someone else wants to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(427)
g. I often fail in things I try to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(428)
h. My family often tells me how to spend my money.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(429)
i. If I know I'm going to lose a game or contest, I don't want to be in it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(430)
j. I think that with the right kind of clothes or car people listen to me more.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(431)

78. Now I'm going to read two sentences. Please tell me which of these two sentences is most true of you. Which do you believe most?

a. I believe that: (432)

1 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.
OR
2 ☐ Good or bad luck usually determines if my plans work.

b. I believe that: (433)

1 ☐ What happens to me is mostly my own doing.
OR
2 ☐ I don't have much choice about what happens to me.

c. I believe that: (434)

1 ☐ Discrimination or prejudice usually determines if my plans work.
OR
2 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.

79. Now, for each thing I read, please tell me whether you mostly <u>agree</u> or mostly <u>disagree</u> with what it says. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with this? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

		1 Mostly <u>agree</u>	5 Mostly <u>disagree</u>	
a.	I like to let things happen in their own way rather than to schedule them.	☐	☐	(435)
b.	My only purpose in working is to make money.	☐	☐	(436)
c.	It makes me feel bad to be late for an appointment.	☐	☐	(437)
d.	I need a job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world.	☐	☐	(438)
e.	I think there's something wrong with people who go to school for years when they could be out earning a living.	☐	☐	(439)
f.	It's more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good friends.	☐	☐	(440)

80. Now I'd like to ask some questions about what it was like to be a Black at the COMPANY. First . . .

Do you think most of the white people at the COMPANY felt the same toward Blacks, or did they differ in how they felt? (441)

1 ☐ Same

2 ☐ Differ

81. How did they (feel/differ in their feelings) toward Black people? (442)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

82. What about the white workers at the COMPANY. Do you think they made it harder for Blacks in any way? (443)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q.85)

83. Do you think most of them made it harder for Blacks, some of them made it harder, or just a few of them made it harder? (444)

1 ☐ Most of them

2 ☐ Some of them

3 ☐ Just a few of them

84. What did they do to make it harder? (445)

What else did they do to make it harder for Blacks?

---

85. Do you think any of the white foremen at the COMPANY made it harder for Blacks than for whites in any way? (446)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 27, Q.88)

86. Do you think most of the white foremen made it harder for Blacks, some of them made it harder, or just a few of them made it harder? (447)

1 ☐ Most of them

2 ☐ Some of them

3 ☐ Just a few of them

87. What did they do to make it harder? (448)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else did they do to make it harder for Blacks?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

88. Suppose a man at the COMPANY has a grievance or complaint against the company. Do you think the union pays less attention to a complaint from a Black man than from a white man, or doesn't race make any difference? (449)

1 ☐ Less attention to a Black

2 ☐ Race doesn't make any difference

89. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a really high paying job at the COMPANY (450)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

90. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a really high paying job in <u>most</u> factories? (451)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

91. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor at the COMPANY? (452)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

92. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor in <u>most</u> factories? (453)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

93. How much has being Black prevented you from getting the things you want out of life--would you say very much, some, not too much, or not at all? (454)

1 ☐ Very much

2 ☐ Some

3 ☐ Not too much

4 ☐ Not at all

94. Do you think only a few white people in this country dislike Blacks, many dislike Blacks, or almost all white people dislike Blacks? (455)

1 ☐ Only a few

2 ☐ Many

3 ☐ Almost all

95. Some say that Blacks have been pushing too fast for what they want. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you--do you think Blacks are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are moving at about the right speed? (456)

1 ☐ Too fast

2 ☐ Too slowly

3 ☐ About the right speed

5

96. Now I'm going to read a list of statements that people have differences of opinion about. I'd like you to tell me whether you mostly <u>agree</u> or mostly <u>disagree</u> with each one. First . . .

	1 Mostly <u>agree</u>	5 Mostly <u>disagree</u>	
a. Whites can't be counted on to give a fair deal to a Black.	☐	☐	(457)
b. If a Black becomes rich or famous, nothing should be more important to him than helping the cause of other Blacks.	☐	☐	(458)
c. An owner of property should <u>not</u> have to sell to Blacks if he doesn't want to.	☐	☐	(459)
d. Blacks should shop in Black owned stores wherever possible.	☐	☐	(460)

97. On the whole, do you favor or oppose the idea of Black Power? (461)

1 ☐ Favor

2 ☐ Oppose

98. Now we have some questions about job experiences you've had since you left school. First . . .

Have you ever been out of work for more than a year at one time? (462)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

99. <u>In the last twelve months</u> how many times have you been out of work? (463)

_____Number of times

100. Altogether about how <u>much</u> time were you out of work in the last twelve months? (464)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

101. What about the year before that how many times were you out of work? (465)

_____Number of times

02. Altogether about how <u>much</u> time were you out of work that year? (466)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

103. How long were you out of work before your last job at the COMPANY? (467)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

104. We'd like to know what jobs you've had in the last two years.
Let's start with your <u>last</u> job.

<u>JOB #1</u>

Could you tell me the name of the job you had last--what was it called? (468)

Name of job:_____

105. What kind of business was that in? (469)

Business:_____

106. <u>Most</u> of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (470)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

107. How long were you on this job? (471)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

108. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.) (472)

_____Dollars and _____Cents per hour

109. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (473)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 32, Q.111)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

110. Why did you leave? (474)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 33, Q.114)

(R WAS LET GO)

111. Why were you let go? (475)

Any other reasons you were let go?

112. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (476)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

113. Why is that? (477)

114. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (478)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #2

115. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (479)

Name of job: _____

116. What kind of business was that in? (480)

Business: _____

117. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (481)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

118. How long were you on this job? (482)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

119. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED) (483)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

120. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (484)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q.122)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

121. Why did you leave? (485)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 36, Q.125)

(R WAS LET GO)

122. Why were you let go? (486)

Any other reasons you were let go?

123. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (487)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

124. Why is that? (488)

125. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (489)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #3

126. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (490)

Name of job:_____

127. What kind of business was that in? (491)

Business:_____

128. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (492)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

129. How long were you on this job? (493)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

130. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED) (494)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

131. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (495)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 38, Q.133)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

132. Why did you leave? (496)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.136)

(R WAS LET GO)

133. Why were you let go? (497)

Any other reasons you were let go?

134. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (498)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

135. Why is that? (499)

136. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (500)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #4

137. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (501)

Name of job:_____

138. What kind of business was that in? (502)

Business:_____

139. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else (503)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

140. How long were you on this job? (504)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

141. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED) (505)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

142. Did you leave this job because you wanted to or were you let go? (506)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 41, Q.144)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

143. Why did you leave? (507)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 42, Q.147)

(R WAS LET GO)

144. Why were you let go? (508)

Any other reasons you were let go?

145. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (509)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

146. Why is that? (510)

147. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (511)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

JOB #5

148. And what was the name of the job you had before that? (512)

Name of job: _____

149. What kind of business was that in? (513)

Business: _____

150. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (514)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

151. How long were you on this job? (515)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

152. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.) (516)

_____Dollars and _____Cents

153. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go? (517)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q.155)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

154. Why did you leave? (518)

For what other reasons did you leave?

(SKIP TO PAGE 45, Q.158)

(R WAS LET GO)

155. Why were you let go? (519)

Any other reasons you were let go?

156. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (520)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

157. Why is that? (521)

158. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race? (522)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

159. In the last five years have you been in any job programs that weren't part of a regular high school or trade school training program? (523)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 46, Q.168)

160. Could you give me the names of these programs, starting with the one you were in last? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD NAMES OF PROGRAMS UNDER Q.160 AND Q.164, AND ASK SUB-QUESTIONS FOR EACH SET. USE ADDITIONAL PAPER IF MORE THAN 2 PROGRAMS.) (524)

NAME OF PROGRAM #1: _____

161. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (525)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

162. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to finish it? (526)

1 ☐ Yes, completed (GO ON TO Q.164, OR SKIP TO PAGE 46, Q.168 IF NO MORE PROGRAMS.)

5 ☐ No, not completed

163. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (527)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

164. Name of Program #2:_____ (528)

165. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (529)

1 ☐ Yes
5 ☐ No

166. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to finish it? (530)

1 ☐ Yes, completed (SKIP TO Q. 168)
5 ☐ No, not completed

167. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (531)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

168. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your background. (532)
First, have you lived in the City all of your life?

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO PAGE 47, Q. 171)
5 ☐ No

169. How long have you lived in the City--how many years and months? (533)

_____Years and_____Months

170. In what state did you live the longest while you were growing up--let's say until you were about sixteen years old? (IF R HAS LIVED AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF TIME IN TWO STATES, RECORD WHICH OF THE TWO STATES HE LIVED IN WHEN HE WAS OLDEST.) (534)

State:_____

171. Now we'd like to ask a few questions about your mother and father. (535)

During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your mother?

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.173)

5 ☐ No

172. Was there some woman who raised you who was <u>like</u> a mother to you? (536)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

173. During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your father? (537)

1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.175)

5 ☐ No

174. Was there some man who raised you who was <u>like</u> a father to you? (538)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.177)

INTERVIEWER:

IF R WAS RAISED BY A SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), INDICATE TO HIM THAT FUTURE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER SHOULD BE ANSWERED IN TERMS OF THESE SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S). IF HE HAD NO REAL OR SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), MARK AS "INAP" THE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER.

175. Was there any time you remember that your father could not find work? (539)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.177)

176. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times, or nearly all the time? (540)

1 ☐ One or two times

2 ☐ Several times

3 ☐ Nearly all the time

177. Did your mother sometimes have a steady job while you were growing up? (541)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.180)

178. Was there any time you remember that she couldn't find work when she wanted it? (542)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.180)

179. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times, or nearly all the time? (543)

1 ☐ One or two times

2 ☐ Several times

3 ☐ Nearly all the time

180. While you were growing up, was it ever necessary for your family to get some kind of help from any of the welfare or government aid programs to help make ends meet? (544)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.182)

181. Just counting the time until you were about sixteen, how many months or years in all would you say it was necessary for your family to have this help? (545)

_____Months and/or _____Years

182. What was the highest grade of school you completed? (546)

GRADE SCHOOL:	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
HIGH SCHOOL:	09	10	11	12(Has high school diploma)					
COLLEGE:	13	14	15	16(Has college degree)					
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL:	17+								

183. How old were you then? (547)

_____Years of age

184. What year was that? (548)

19_____

(INTERVIEWER: IF R LEFT SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATING FROM TWELFTH GRADE, ASK:)

185. Why did you leave school before graduating? What happened? (549)

For what other reasons did you leave?

186. Have you had any other schooling? (550)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 50, Q.188)

187. What other schooling did you have? (551)

188. Now we'd like to ask you some general questions about your home situation. First . . . (552)

Do you have a wife?

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.193)

189. Are you living with her at present? (553)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.191)

190. Does your wife work? (554)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

191. Do you have any children? (555)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.193)

192. How many of your children are living with you? (556)

_____Number

193. Do you pay <u>most</u> of the household bills where you live, or does someone else pay most of them? (557)

1 ☐ Respondent

2 ☐ Someone else

3 ☐ SHARE EQUALLY

194. Do you have to support yourself only, or are there any others you have the <u>main</u> responsibility for supporting? (558)

1 ☐ Self only (SKIP TO PAGE 51, Q.196)

2 ☐ Support others

195. How many other people do you have the main responsibility for supporting, not counting yourself? (559)

_____Number of people

196. Is there anything that has happened in the last few months that has made your financial situation worse than it was before? (560)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

197. How much difficulty are you having in making ends meet these days--would you say it's very difficult, somewhat difficult, not too difficult, or not difficult at all? (561)

1 ☐ Very difficult

2 ☐ Somewhat difficult

3 ☐ Not too difficult

4 ☐ Not difficult at all

198. Were you working anywhere else while you were at the COMPANY? (562)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.200)

199. How many hours a week were you working outside of the COMPANY? (563)

_____Hours per week

200. How did you get to the COMPANY. Did you drive your own car, take the bus, ride with other people, or what? (564)

1 ☐ Drive own car

2 ☐ Bus

3 ☐ Ride with others

7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY:)_____

201. How long did it take you to get from your home to the COMPANY? (565)

1 ☐ Less than 15 minutes

2 ☐ 15-29 minutes

3 ☐ 30-44 minutes (half-hour)

4 ☐ 45-59 minutes

5 ☐ 60 minutes or more (hour)

202. How satisfied were you with your travel arrangements to the COMPANY--very satisfied, pretty satisfied, not too satisfied, or not satisfied at all? (566)

1 ☐ Very satisfied
2 ☐ Pretty satisfied
3 ☐ Not too satisfied
4 ☐ Not satisfied at all

203. In general, did <u>most</u> of your closest friends want you to stay at the COMPANY, did they want you to leave, or didn't they care much one way or the other? (567)

1 ☐ Wanted him to stay
2 ☐ Wanted him to leave
3 ☐ Didn't care much one way or the other

204. How old were you on your last birthday? (568)

_____Years of age

B110

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

1. Please rate the ability of the respondent <u>to understand you</u> when you spoke to him: (569)

   1 ☐ Frequently could not understand me even after I repeated the question several times

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty understanding me; usually understood after I repeated the question

   3 ☐ Usually understood me; sometimes had difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always understood me

2. Rate the ability of the respondent <u>to communicate to you</u> his thoughts and feelings: (570)

   1 ☐ Frequently could not express himself in a way I could understand

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty in expressing himself; usually I could get an answer by pursuing the question

   3 ☐ Usually expressed himself well; sometimes had difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always expressed himself well

3. Cooperativeness of respondent at <u>beginning</u> of interview. (571)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

4. Cooperativeness of respondent at <u>end</u> of interview. (572)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

5. R's race is: (573)

1 ☐ Black

2 ☐ White (SKIP TO Q.7)

3 ☐ Other (SPECIFY, AND SKIP TO Q.7:)_____

6. Rate R's skin color: (574)

1 ☐ Very light

2 ☐ Somewhat light (tan)

3 ☐ Somewhat dark (brown)

4 ☐ Very dark brown or black

7. Length of interview: (575)

_____Minutes

8. Was anyone within hearing distance of the interview besides yourself and respondent? (576)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 55, Q.10)

9. Describe situation: Specify who was present (friend, advisor, "unknown," etc.) (577)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX C: MISCELLANEOUS DESCRIPTIVE TABLES

The following purely descriptive tables combine data from trainee stay and trainee terminee samples.

TABLE C-1

Percentage of Trainees Citing Each of the Following Aspects of the Training Program As Something Which They "Liked Best" about the Training Program (Q59)

Aspect of training program liked best	Percentage (N=145)[a]
"The discussions" in general	26%
Characteristics of the adviser or monitor	23
The "hands on" training	22
The academic training (basic education)	21
The pay	19
The way the Training Program "helps people"	19
The "job preparation" offered (not elsewhere coded)	19
The training to "get along" with others	10
The discussions of black history and racial issues	9
The "teaching" of self-discipline	9
"Everything"	8
The "group feeling" in the training groups	8
Discussions of specific topics (not elsewhere codeable)	7
The discussions of personal problems	6
The hours the training classes met	6
"Nothing"	5
The tours of the plant	5
The tours and trips to places outside the plant	5

[a]Includes "false stays".

TABLE C-2

Percentage of Trainees Citing Each of the Following Aspects of the Training Program As Something Which They Would Liked To Have Seen Changed in the Training Program (Q60)

What trainee would like to see changed	Percentage (N=142)[a]
Trainee would like nothing changed	27%
Too little "hands on" training	25
Too much wasting of time and just sitting around	11
Training quarters were poor	11
Characteristics of adviser or monitor should be changed	10
Lack of choice of jobs to train for	6
Characteristics of the other trainees should be changed	6
More of the advisers and monitors should be black	6
Too few tours to different areas of the plant	4
Too few tours or trips to places outside the plant	4
Too much training in academic subjects	4
Pay was too low	4
Hours when training sessions met were poor	4
Promises to some trainees by the staff were not kept	4
Time spent in the training program did not count towards a worker's seniority	4
Training sites were too far from trainees' homes	4
Training staff was too small	2
Too little training in academic subjects	2
Fringe benefits were poor	1
Too few films were shown	1
Not enough sports or game activities	1
Trainees should be placed on jobs sooner	1

[a]Includes "false stays".

TABLE C-3

Percentage of Trainees Indicating Whether Adequate Amounts of Time Were Devoted to Each of Several Topics in Their Training Sessions (Q66-77)

Topic	Percentage[a]
Teaching safety in a factory (N=143)	
Too much time	6%
Too little time	18
About the right amount of time	75
Teaching you how to use the different kinds of tools and machines (N=143)	
Too much time	8%
Too little time	41
About the right amount of time	51
Teaching you reading (N=144)	
Too much time	8%
Too little time	29
About the right amount of time	62
Teaching you writing (N=144)	
Too much time	10%
Too little time	39
About the right amount of time	52
Working with figures--handling numbers (N=144)	
Too much time	10%
Too little time	22
About the right amount of time	67
Discussing being on time for work (N=144)	
Too much time	17%
Too little time	7
About the right amount of time	75

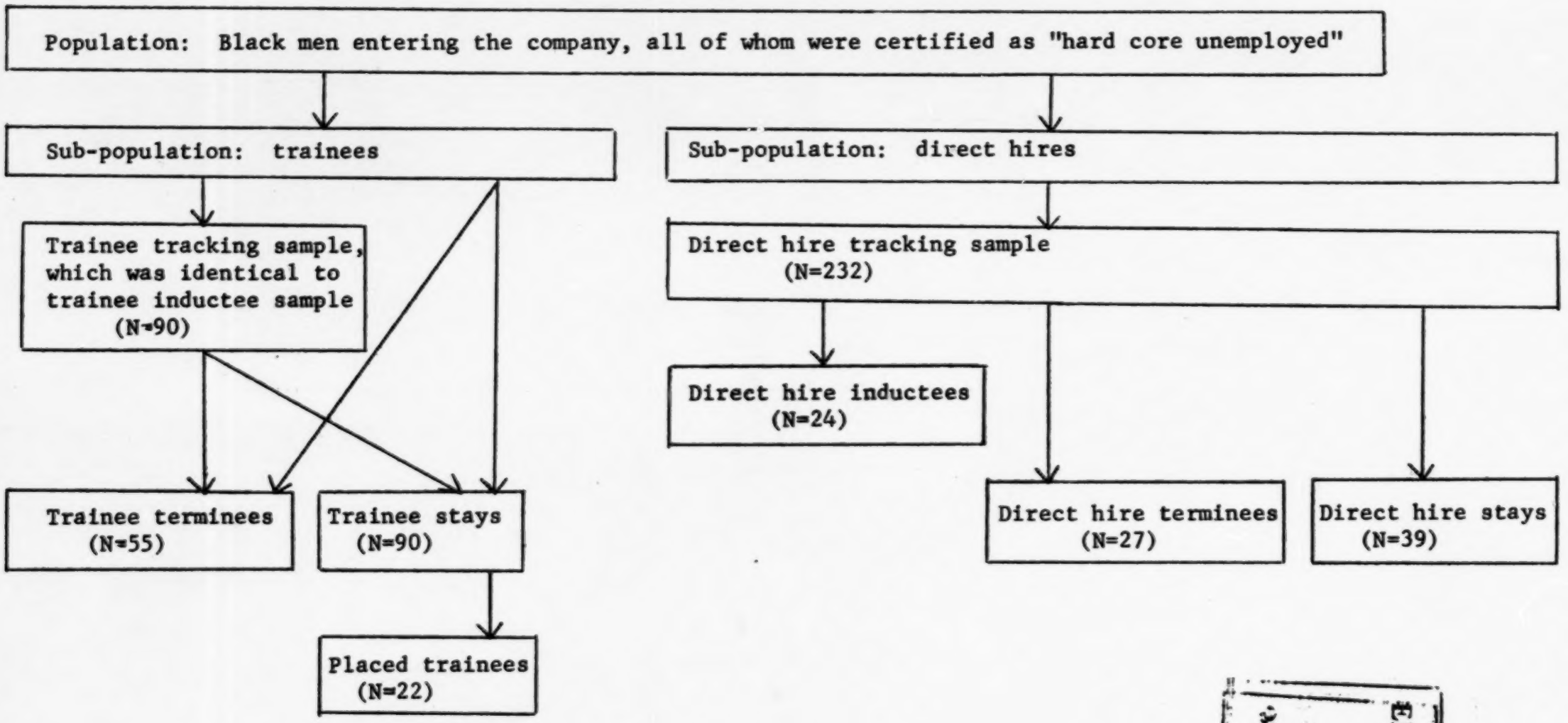
(continued)

TABLE C-3 (continued)

Topic	Percentage[a]
Discussing showing up for work every day (N=144)	
Too much time	15%
Too little time	6
About the right amount of time	76
Discussing how to make decisions (N=143)	
Too much time	5%
Too little time	14
About the right amount of time	80
Teaching you to make yourself clear to the people you work with so they understand you (N=144)	
Too much time	4%
Too little time	15
About the right amount of time	80
Discussing keeping calm when things break down (N=144)	
Too much time	6%
Too little time	27
About the right amount of time	67
Discussing how to keep on the good side of the foremen or men who are over you (N=144)	
Too much time	8%
Too little time	16
About the right amount of time	76
Discussing how to keep on the good side of the men you work with (N=144)	
Too much time	4%
Too little time	13
About the right amount of time	84

[a] Includes "false stays"

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY CHART OF ALL SAMPLES EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY


Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"
Sub-population: trainees
Sub-population: direct hires
Trainee tracking sample, which was identical to trainee inductee sample (N=90)
Direct hire tracking sample (N=232)
Direct hire inductees (N=24)
Trainee terminees (N=55)
Trainee stays (N=90)
Placed trainees (N=22)
Direct hire terminees (N=27)
Direct hire stays (N=39)

Note: The source of each sample is indicated by the arrows directed toward it.

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